

# Routes to tour in Germany

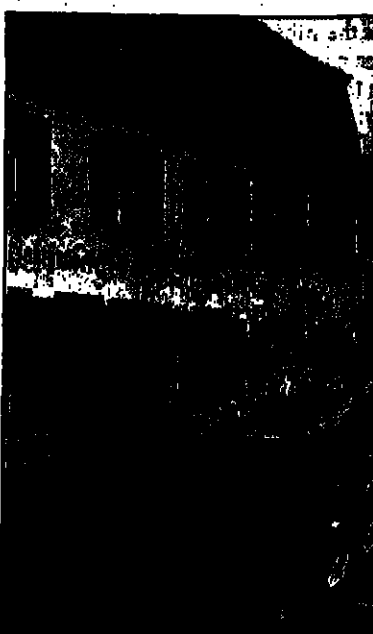
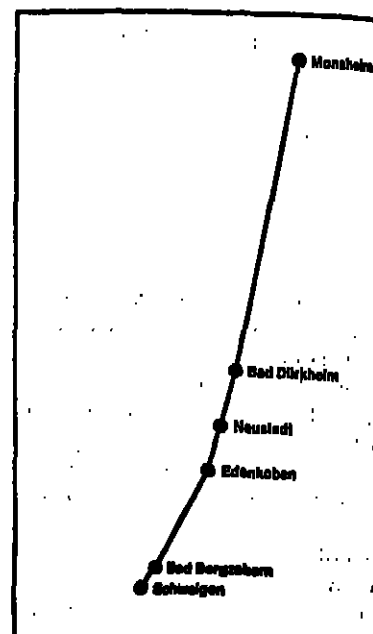
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# The German Tribune

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## Europe's path towards a philosophy of unity

In April 1980 the US ambassador in Brussels was reported to have been asked to understand by the European Commission that the EEC was unlikely to join a trade embargo against Iran. The embargo was envisaged by the United States in response to the 4 November 1979 storming of the US embassy in Tehran and the holding of American officials and staff as hostages. It had taken the Common Market countries a full five months manfully to arrive at a joint viewpoint that could only be described as undecided.

When the Red Army invaded Afghanistan, it took the EEC governments over a month to arrive at agreement on fundamentals.

But the political force of the boycott of the Moscow Olympics showed up the hesitations for what they were: a concerted attempt to have one's cake and eat it too.

Europe was equally slow to react to the imposition of martial law in Poland. The EEC's political answer to its toughest and most immediate test of all, the 1977 oil embargo, was just as abysmal.

If it demonstrated anything at all it was that there was no such thing as a European response, let alone a joint Western policy approach to the Opec threat.

Faced by the oil threat posed by Islamic adversaries, all the Common Market countries attached greater importance to their immediate energy requirements than to the possibility of calling Opec's bluff.

Nothing came of a potential Western European organisation of petroleum-importing countries as a long-term device to counteract Opec blackmail.

The course of events has since thankfully passed over the opportunities missed. But there seems sure to be a next time. In the Middle East, change can come fast.

The Common Market's reaction to the Falklands crisis has been surprisingly different. It took only days for it to be united against Argentina.

It was as though we were all Falkland Islanders now. But what does this confusion mean?

Was it that they felt better able to make a statement in the direction of the Falklands than in that of the Soviet Union, breathing down their neck and bristling with nuclear missiles?

Did they attach greater importance to business with the Soviet Union than to the destiny of Poland?

First, one must dispel any illusions that different behaviour towards Buenos Aires and Moscow is in any way resulting in monetary gain.

of examples (and counter-examples) of European solidarity prove?

The occupation of the Falklands is definitely not just a matter for Britain, with its colonial left-overs, and Argentina to settle.

European solidarity has been mainly in respect of the Argentinian breach of legal principles in taking over the islands by force.

This breach is an attack on everyone with a political interest in abiding by the law and by the principle of settling disputes peacefully, an attack on the weak.

Europe, in the context of superpower politics, is a grouping of weaker countries.

If it were to tolerate a violation of this principle way off in the chilly waters of the South Atlantic, especially at the expense of a fellow-member of the EEC, it would arguably be inviting hostilities over oil drilling rights in the Aegean.

This is not to mention the bizarre possibilities that might conceivably affect West Berlin.

Yet these selfsame principles of peace and the rule of law were violated by the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, arguably even more so by the taking

The European Community showed unaccustomed speed in banning imports from Argentina after Buenos Aires had occupied the Falkland Islands.

At the height of the Polish crisis, when martial law was imposed, the Ten seemed to be much more undecided in their response.

It took them until early March to compile a half-hearted list of import restrictions that were to be imposed on the Soviet Union.

So it was bound not to be long before Western Europe was accused of double standards.

Was it that they felt better able to make a statement in the direction of the Falklands than in that of the Soviet Union, breathing down their neck and bristling with nuclear missiles?

Did they attach greater importance to business with the Soviet Union than to the destiny of Poland?

First, one must dispel any illusions that different behaviour towards Buenos Aires and Moscow is in any way resulting in monetary gain.

The Soviet Union is undoubtedly an attractive trading partner for the EEC, and a more attractive one than Argentina. But in absolute terms both are also rivals in trade with the Ten.

Moral considerations as a yardstick Washington is keen to urge on Europe are not a sufficient explanation either.

On Poland President Reagan stressed that normal relations ought not to be



ITALIAN PRESIDENT SANDRO PERTINI (centre) with Bonn President Karl Carstens and Frau Veronika Carstens during a private visit to Berlin. They are pictured during a visit to see The Four Horses of San Marco, on loan from Venice. (Photo: dpa)

hostage of US embassy staff in Tehran for purposes of political blackmail.

So it would seem as if the legal aspect was not what makes Europe's ranks. The crucial aspect would appear to be a vague instinct of European solidarity, a feeling that European interests are at stake.

Viewed dialectically, this solidarity among Common Market countries exists

in the other crises mentioned too, albeit in a negative sense.

Each in its own way, and in varying degrees, of determination, the EEC countries have kept out of commitments to solidarity with the West over and above Europe.

European policies were thus aimed at objectives slightly different from those envisaged by the United States; they

Continued on page 2

## The reasoning behind a sanctions policy

maintained with oppressors, but in practice, that would mean democratic countries would have to shut down many of their embassies.

Dictatorships are widespread. The United States maintains normal diplomatic ties with Argentina, where the junta has been responsible for thousands of people vanishing without trace.

This must not be taken to mean, as conveniently it might, that politics may dispense entirely with moral considerations.

On the other hand one is bound to wonder whether, if lies with the Kremlin were reduced to an absolute minimum, there would then be any serious prospect of coming to terms with Russia on such urgent issues as disarmament.

In the Falkland conflict the European Community says Buenos Aires is guilty of a breach of international law in having seized the islands by force.

Since the EEC Ten feel themselves to be a political community they are understandably reluctant to accept his move against fellow-member Britain without so much as a whimper.

There can be no direct comparison with Poland, but certain similarities cannot be overlooked. The EEC countries share contractual commitments with Moscow and Warsaw in the form of the Helsinki accords.

The Helsinki accords proscribe the use of force and the threat of using it, but there can hardly be any doubt that the Soviet Union at least exerted indirect pressure to make the situation in Poland tougher.

Moscow has thus violated an international agreement, the Helsinki CSCE Final Act.

Western Europe may have chosen to respond to this breach with a very limited catalogue of sanctions, but that was largely because it would have been opting off its nose to spite its face.

The alternative to confrontation, which cannot possibly be desirable, is a policy of balance and détente. It cannot be pursued by ignoring the Soviet Union, so the dialogue with Moscow has a special importance.

Allowing responses to be guided solely by this realistic yardstick must not lead to the EEC forfeiting credibility. If the Ten's reaction to Poland were to be merely non-committal, they would lose all respect in the Kremlin.

So it is left with little more than a tightrope walk between promotion of détente and support for Poland.

Klaus Bohnhorst

(Köln Stadt-Anzeiger, 25 April 1982)

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West Germans with their love of elder down for duvets are Vietnam's best customers for duck feathers. Trade between Bonn and Hanoi is balanced at about DM50m in each direction.

So much for the good news about relations between the two countries. Foreign Minister Nguyen Co Thach is on record as having told visitors that ties have been bad ever since the two states came into being.

East Germany may well have fostered this attitude. The GDR plays a major role in Vietnam. It has a diplomatic staff of about 30 there, as against Bonn's five.

The GDR is second only to the Soviet Union as a supplier of cash and credit. One delegation from East Berlin follows another and nearly every German-speaking Vietnamese is GDR-trained.

"You were always against us," Communist officials tell the few West Germans they allow into the country.

They see a clear connection between Bonn backing for America in the Indo-China war, the hospital ship *Helgoland* and the *Cap Anamur*, which the Vietnamese do not see as saving refugees from pirates and drowning in the South China Sea.

They argue that the rescue ship, by being there, encourages people to set out on the refugee trail.

Asked what contribution Hanoi has made toward bilateral detente, Vietnamese officials fall silent. Two West German journalists a year at most are allowed to visit the country.

## WORLD AFFAIRS

### Bonn-Hanoi relations not just a bed of duck feathers

So it is hardly surprising that little is known in the Federal Republic of Germany about the daily lives of 55 million Vietnamese.

The medical relief committee is donated ample cash to run the refugee ship, but precious little cash is raised to send rice shipments to Vietnam.

About 70 former local staff of the German embassy and the Goethe Institute in Saigon have been waiting for the past seven years for exit visas.

This is a situation they share with more than 6,000 Vietnamese who have been issued with visas by Bonn to enable them to join members of the family in Germany.

Is it slipshod work by the authorities? Are there political reasons? Is it a punishment for erstwhile collaborators? Whatever the reasons, the facts remain.

Relations have been even chillier since the Vietnamese invasion of Cambodia early in 1979, since when a Bonn Cabinet decision has ruled that public-sector non-humanitarian aid and economic cooperation with Hanoi are ruled out as long as Vietnam continues to occupy its next-door neighbour.

Similar sanctions have been imposed

by the European Community, by most EEC countries, by the United States and by Japan, but there can be no mistaking differences in interpretation and implementation.

Since M. Mitterrand came to power in Paris France, for instance, has been keen to regain influence in its former colony. It has promised economic aid totalling 200 million francs.

Vietnam has been visited by Régis Debray, President Mitterrand's foreign policy adviser, and by Jean-Pierre Chevènement, the French Minister of Research and Technology.

M. Thach paid a visit to France at the beginning of April and said Paris had a most important part to play in South-East Asia.

He also found words of praise for historic ties and cooperation in recent years.

France is the only Western power to run a consulate-general in the former capital of South Vietnam.

The Australians are also active in Hanoi, as are the Japanese, who can likewise lay claim to regional interests and could hardly be busier in their activities.

Unofficially it is an open secret that Vietnam gets ample supplies and donations from Japan, although friendship associations and other private organisations are nominally responsible.

Wherever you go in Vietnam you meet Japanese visitors, especially journalists. A delegation sent by the ruling Liberal Democratic Party has even been persuaded to visit Phnom Penh.

Japan does not acknowledge the Vietnamese-backed Heng Samrin regime and condemns the Vietnamese invasion of Cambodia, but the Japanese have still gained a toehold in what may yet prove an important regional market.

Compared with his Japanese and French counterparts, Bonn's ambassador in Hanoi maintains what are virtually zero relations with Vietnam.

Last year Bonn donated medicine worth DM200,000. It was a highlight in a slack year. Yet Germany is unlikely to want to embark on activities on a larger scale.

It would prefer not to prejudice its relations with ASEAN or to disregard parallels between Cambodia and Afghanistan; communist imperialism in Asia is not to be sanctioned.

But should the field be left wide open to others? Ought one not to check how seriously Vietnam takes foreign policy diversification? Is it not worth a bid to ease its ties with Moscow?

More intensive ties, arguably via a moderate upgrading of humanitarian aid, might ensure a West German presence in the form of experts and more information.

There is said to be no shortage of projects that could be undertaken. The hospital in Da Nang built prior to 1975 with German assistance has virtually no medical equipment left.

Patients are moved around by bicycle because the ambulances supplied by the German Red Cross have no fuel and are rusting away in the hospital courtyard with a mere 8,000km on their clocks.

**Erhard Haubold**  
(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, 24 April 1982)

**Peter Eichberg**  
(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, 24 April 1982)

## BBC produces a Strangelove bomb story

While BBC 1 screened a love play by Austrian dramatist Arthur Schnitzler BBC 2 went into an altogether different love story: Germany and the Argentine Bomb.

The BBC documentary told a macabre nuclear tale of ties between Germany and Argentina running almost without interruption from the Nazi era to the present.

It ended with Argentina having been aided and abetted by Germany to develop its own nuclear deterrent, and a chilling tale it was.

The result was an enemy very much in keeping with prejudice, fact and historical experience. Argentina had long been 'on the brink of fascism' and the Falklands' takeover fitted the bill.

At a time when Britain's psychosis and neurosis over the Falklands was at its height the BBC TV documentary maliciously implied that Germany had a finger in the pie.

It claimed that for decades Nazis have been hobnobbing in Argentinian nuclear research, a research sector that would soon be bearing bitter fruit.

Within the next 12 months the Argentinians would, by virtue of German help, be in a position to produce enough plutonium to build 10 nuclear bombs.

The key figure in Argentina's nuclear build-up was said to be Walther Schnurr, a German arms expert who joined many erstwhile Nazi war criminals in 1945 on their trek to South America.

Once there, he had visions of a Fourth Reich and suggested to President Peron that he would do well to

gain nuclear independence of the ugly Americans as fast as possible.

Ten years later Schnurr was appointed head of research at the Karlsruhe nuclear research centre by Franz Josef Strauss.

On returning to Argentina he helped to make it the first South American nuclear power that was beyond the scope of the nuclear non-proliferation pact.

This tale was grist to the mill of covert British prejudice against the ugly German, so much so that Robert Jungk hardly needed to put the knife in as he did.

Herr Jungk, the Munich futurologist, told viewers how important it was that the world appreciated that Germans were by no means as innocent as they made themselves out to be.

The entire documentary was tough, embarrassing and malicious. The layman is in no position to check how much truth there is in its allegations.

Many of the facts were clad in complex technological terminology. The sources on which many claims were based are remote and hard to corroborate.

Lothar Ruehl, deputy government spokesman in Bonn, did his best in a discussion screened after the film to dismiss a number of points made as inaccurate.

But that was little more than crying over spilt milk. Where Bonn went wrong was in initially refusing to cooperate with the BBC on the documentary.

A few denials after the event were not going to be enough to defuse such massive and suggestive pictorial and verbal evidence of German implication in Argentinian nuclear development.

Bonn will have to learn a lesson or two from this affair. In future it will have to lay its cards on the table more clearly in connection with international nuclear cooperation of all kinds.

Continued from page 1

did not tally with Western policy as a whole.

EEC policy could be said to be at diversifying Western policy, viewed in the abstract that would hardly be surprising.

There were no signs of a converging European bid to show the Soviet Union the legal view held by the EEC in connection with the Soviet adventure in Afghanistan.

There was no indication even of common European fear of legal principles being usurped by the principle of violence, and this was as true of Poland as it was of Afghanistan.

Europe's stand on the Falklands at first glance look like an atavistic recalling of the Boxer uprising, turn-of-the-century China, but in fact is different and new.

It gives the United States, caught in a precarious mediator's role, cold comfort, but it also risks confrontation with Soviet interests, which are increasingly allied with those of Argentina.

So one wonders to whose support EEC countries have rushed. Could it be in support of one of their own and for Europe as a whole: Europe at the Horn?

**Bernhard Helms**  
(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, 22 April 1982)

## Senate's sensitivity touch over troops in Europe

The US Senate has shown a sensitivity of European sensitivity. The Senate foreign relations committee notes that any large-scale US withdrawal from Europe would be viewed there as a punishment.

The interesting point is that the Senatorial report warns against the political rather than the military consequences. A unilateral US troop cut in Europe would obviously do disarmament no more harm than good, but the Senate attaches even more importance to its effect on NATO.

A crisis of confidence is rightly feared, with Senate committees taking a line unimpressed by the anti-European sentiments espoused by the American public.

The Reagan administration is spared criticism either, having been the receiving end frequently of late. The mainly Republican Senators accuse the Reagan administration of having intensified European fears of a clear war by using language that was too strong.

**Arnd Blücher**  
(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 20 April 1982)

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## HOME AFFAIRS

### The old team again: Brandt and Schmidt hold the SPD show together

In an emergency, the SPD has always been able to rely on the Willy Brandt-Helmut Schmidt team to pull the cart out of the bog.

It happened again at the Social Democrats' national congress in Munich where party leader and Chancellor resorted to that play with divided roles on which the strength of the Social Democrats once rested.

The two seem to have realised that factional disputes within the party become the more ferocious the more the party leadership presents a picture of unrelenting disunity.

Brandt made use of the particular authority he still enjoys as an undisputed integration factor to clear the way for Schmidt on the central issues that will decide the ability of the SPD to continue its coalition with the FDP.

Schmidt in his turn made a visible effort to meet his party half way and — departing from his usual custom — he even showed some emotion.

Long passages of his speech were summaries of the state of the nation and an explanation of the government's actions.

But the subsequent discussions showed that even dyed-in-the-wool opponents of the Chancellor got the message: The Chancellor still regards himself as a loyal Social Democrat (despite the need for political compromises and despite his particular way of depicting himself) and as such he expects the backing of his party.

So Schmidt decided to abandon his usual brusque tone. He also decided not to draw a line between himself and the morass of party politics, as he often does. He showed understanding and presented himself as someone whose skin is not all that thick.

It was the Chancellor as a man and a socialist, rather than the *Mucher*, who faced the congress.

And it was this that the party had so long looked for. In vain until now.

It appears quite possible that the unilateral Schmidt called for in his speech will develop.

## Heed historic responsibility, Chancellor urges delegates

Helmut Schmidt's speech in Munich was at least as impressive as Willy Brandt's appeal a day earlier.

Tough on specific issues yet moderate and cleverly formulated, the Chancellor's speech did not so much analyse and criticise the state of his party as appeal to it to heed its historic responsibility.

Schmidt kept pointing to the alternative to his government as a means of uniting the party and, naturally, making it close ranks behind him.

Whenever possible, he propped up his own arguments with what Brandt had said before him.

On the NATO decision (where he had even gone so far as to stake his political future) he was able to do so without ifs and buts. It is almost a foregone conclusion that the congress will with a great majority adopt his line and defeat his opponent, Eppler.



That's enough, thanks, folks! Chancellor Schmidt after his speech at the SPD congress in Munich. At left is party leader Willy Brandt and at right, Hesse Premier Holger Börner. (Photo: Poly-Press)

Even so, the disputes that are still to come will be tough, regardless of the compromises on controversial issues (security, nuclear energy, employment) that will be reached in the end.

In their speeches Brandt and Schmidt not only put their positions on the line; they also enlarged the party's scope for image building.

Both defined the SPD as a moving force and drafter of concepts which may and should show its inimitable profile.

Schmidt spoke of division of labour in this context, saying: "The party and its most important policy-making body, the National Congress, have the far reaching function of analysing and setting goals."

The workshop on security policy at the SPD national congress had long finished its work.

But the workshop on economic and employment policy, still had more than 20 of a total of 70 delegates waiting to speak.

This forced the chairman, Johannes Rau, to halve the speaking times and call on the delegates to review the importance of what they wanted to say because it was so late. In the end, only

one-third of the remaining speakers actually took the floor.

This is only one indicator showing how much the internal party discussion has shifted from the double NATO decision to the pressing unemployment issue.

Many Social Democrats find it intolerable to envisage their party resigning from government and leaving behind it the nation's highest unemployment rate — except for only the difficult first years of the Federal Republic of Germany.

It must be particularly hard for a party that has always spoken of the right to work to now even contemplate cutting back on the social security net due to empty coffers.

The hectic efforts in Munich to find a way out of the dilemma becomes understandable.

Part of this effort was a motion to put the initiative called for by the party executive board into more concrete terms.

It seems to be the lot of the SPD that every time it has arrived at a comitatus basis for a discussion of the diagnosis of the illness it starts making therapy proposals.

The proposed cures tend to become blends of meaningful and anachronistic remedies pulled out of the box of old socialist chestnuts that can never rally a majority.

## Time runs out for would-be orators on economic issues

Of course, nobody will oppose any move to strengthen our competitiveness, save energy and improve our environmental protection as called for in the motion.

But there can be little understanding for those who call for the establishment of economic and social councils and a swift redistribution of productive capital. These old bromides also include the demand for authorities to which to report private investments and a say by the works councils whenever subsidies are applied for.

Since full employment is unlikely to be achieved in the next few years through high growth rates, the Social Democrats pin all their hopes now on shorter working times.

Here, too, sensible proposals were contrasted by inanities that received much applause, among them a one-year paid holiday for parents (at the state's expense).

The basic positions are unchanged: Job-creating measures must be financed either by additional borrowing or higher taxes, especially for the higher income brackets.

This is a concept for which the SPD has been unable to find a majority in the past and it is unlikely to succeed in the near future either.

**Helmut Meier-Mannhart**  
(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 22 April 1982)

This right to depart from each other's line must be mutual.

The division of labour concept thus rests on faith — and this includes the faith of the grassroots in the fact that Bonn will make no arbitrary decisions but will be guided in its actions by careful consideration of interests.

At the same time, Schmidt assigned a key function to his parliamentary group which must act as a hinge between party and government.

The concept appears to make sense, and at first glance it seems as if everybody would gain by it: both party and government because they can lay claim to more freedom, which means that there is no need to depict every dispute as a crisis. The parliamentary group would be invested with the powers of a permanent mediation committee.

But this attempt to build a bridge can only be successful if, in the final analysis, party and government do not drift too far apart.

Ultimately, the scope of freedom the Chancellor can grant to the grassroots remains limited.

"The vaunted division of labour can only function if the party achieves a measure of unity and if it is prepared to yield to the exigencies of day-to-day politics and coalition discipline on major issues."

In other words, this attractive intellectual concept cannot relieve the SPD of the necessity to abandon its paralyzing factionalism and regain its ability to act under the conditions that will prevail in the 1980s.

Unless it masters this task — and the Munich congress will play a decisive role — it will sooner or later find itself back on the opposition benches.

**Joachim Worthmann**  
(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 21 April 1982)



## ■ INTRA-GERMAN AFFAIRS

## Churches' uneasy link with East Berlin regime

Relations between the state and the Protestant churches in the GDR are severely strained.

Yet it is only four years since the "discussion on principles" between Erich Honecker and the executive board of the Federation of Protestant Churches in the GDR, headed by Bishop Albrecht Schönherr.

The reason for the strain is the independent peace movement of the churches.

Only two years ago, East Berlin's state secretary for church issues, Klaus Gysl, stressed that "the churches' actions for peace cannot be over-rated."

He said the state placed great stock by the Federation's peace-promoting initiatives and would continue to do so.

In an about-face, Gysl has now severely criticised the stickers and buttons worn primarily by young Christians and bearing such inscriptions as "Peace Decade 1981" and "Swords to Ploughshares".

According to him, these stickers demonstrate an anti-state attitude and are evidence of participation in an illegal political movement.

Saxony's Bishop Hempel has been told that the wearing of these emblems in schools and in public will not be tolerated.

It is only natural under the circumstances that insecurity and bitterness should be spreading in Christian communities. Many young people feel that they have been left in the lurch because all their church does for them is to tell them that it can no longer protect them from the consequences arising from the wearing of these emblems.

East German Christians — who have

been told by their churches time and again how important the discussion with Honecker on 6 March 1978 was — have meanwhile been waiting in vain for the executive board of the Federation to make use of its relations with the state that were allegedly marked by "frankness, understanding and willingness to arrive at constructive solutions" to keep them out of harm's way.

The present chairman of the Federation, Magdeburg Bishop Krusche, has not yet lodged a protest with the prime minister or Honecker himself against the discrimination against young Christians and the treatment of the church peace movement as criminal.

Each of the eight district churches in East Germany is trying to deal independently with state authority in a bid to find out whether there is a general ban on the wearing of the peace emblems or whether the ban applies only to schools, universities and the place of work. They are also trying to ascertain the consequences those who ignore the ban must expect.

Since the different authorities that have been approached have come up with differing answers, they have only added to the general confusion and uncertainty.

The 6 March 1978 meeting, which both sides have increasingly cited since the toughening of the GDR's church policy in the autumn of 1980, was essentially an attempt to arrive at an arrangement.

The church assumes that the state had recognised its role in society and had given it a political mandate so to speak in the form of authority to con-

cern itself with social matters and to act as a guide for Christian attitudes in politics and society. But the church was never actually granted this amount of say.

The GDR's Communist Party cannot tolerate such a say because, according to its Marxist ideology, this would touch upon the issue of power in the state.

The Communist Party and its state cannot accept the church as an independent social force; they can only tolerate it if they can use its ecumenical ties to promote Moscow's kind of "peace policy".

As long as this peace policy is directed against NATO missiles the church's peace initiative is welcome. But the moment this initiative calls for disarmament in the East as well and promotes "social peace service" in the GDR as a substitute for service in the Armed Forces the church is accused of political opposition.

The same applies to the slogans "Make Peace without Weapons" and "Swords to Ploughshares" that dominated the recent movement in Dresden's *Kreuzkirche*.

The state's action against the church peace movement shows that it is illusory for the GDR's church to believe that it could exercise social responsibility as an independent partner of the state and that it could take part in social consultation and decision-making processes.

Compulsory military instruction at school and a "communist upbringing" as part of the curriculum along with the general militarisation of society (not least as a result of the new military service provisions) were legislated without consulting the church and against its express wish.

All efforts by the church to bring about a change after the fact were in vain. The church is only allowed a say if it goes along with the policies of party and state and effectively backs them. Otherwise it is in constant jeopardy of being declared hostile to the state and banned.

It can hardly be the point of the 6 March 1978 conference for the church to engage in confidential talks with state authorities and to put forward loose views and information while generally being on the receiving end of unalterable state decisions, including bans on church activities.

It is becoming increasingly evident that the course the church embarked on after the discussion with Honecker will end in a cut-de-sec.

Peter Jochen Winters  
(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 13 April 1982)

## Border money: another fit of the sulks

Nordwest-Zeitung

There has been no official denial of reports that the GDR will refuse to yield to Bonn's demand for a reduction of the compulsory money exchange for visitors from the West, so Bonn must either have to stand its ground or come up with a new approach.

This lends a new timeliness to the statements made by Chancellor Helmut Schmidt and Bonn Economic Affairs Minister Count Lambsdorff during their visit to East Germany last December.

They said that Bonn would not extend its interest-free line of credit to trade with the GDR (known as "swing") unless the GDR goes along with human easements.

Bonn's position is not enviable, it is to be credible it must honour the statements made by its Chancellor and economic affairs minister that can be summed up as: no human easements — no money.

But the victims of such a policy would be the people — especially now that East Berlin has turned the tables, saying in effect: unless there is hard currency forthcoming from West Germany, relations between the two German states will harden still further.

Bonn seems to have little option but to terms with this — if for no other reason, to remain politically credible.

To make matters worse, the present situation precludes any solitary action by either Bonn or East Berlin due to the frosty relations between the supporters.

So German-German relations will be a sorry state once more.

While massively supporting peace movements in the West, East Berlin has clamped down on a similar movement in its own country.

The whole thing goes hand in hand with extensive militarisation measures in the "workers' and farmers' state".

And to top it all, East Berlin has now dealt a blow to hopes of easing the lot of Western visitors to the GDR.

Peter Falkenau  
(Nordwest-Zeitung, 21 April 1982)

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Robert Havemann... 'most popular German communist.'  
(Photo: dpa)

Physicist Robert Havemann, who died on 9 April, was shadowed by GDR security men right to his grave.

Evidently, East Germany felt that it had to maintain its air of efficiency even if this were to unmask it politically.

This is only one more proof of the fact that the most popular German communist of our day had become a greater embarrassment to the communist regime than any other dissident.

Havemann was not only an uncomfortable and, on occasion, spiteful cha-

## Dead Havemann still thorn in side of GDR

acter; he also did not fit the usual pattern of a dissident. It was this, above all, that proved so embarrassing to the East Berlin regime.

Havemann regarded the GDR as "the better of the two German states" even after it had muzzled him.

He could be read and seen in the Western media after the East Berlin authorities thought that they had silenced him.

Not even the fact that he engaged in wishful thinking detracted from Havemann's plea for a more humane communism.

His actions reflected German history and exerted a symbolic attraction in both Germanies.

Seen in this light, the day of his funeral could only take the course it did: from his grave, he forced the GDR to demonstrate to the world at large how devoid its system was of human traits.

Many of Havemann's friends were barred from attending the funeral — a shattering testimony to the political regime in his country.

Hans J. Kraus  
(Lübecker Nachrichten, 18 April 1982)

## ■ LABOUR

## Flashback to the dark old days 50 years ago

One example illustrates how extreme the situation was. The Busch circus in Berlin was looking for five ushers or usherettes: 2000 people turned up.

Unemployment today is "only" 1.8m compared to 6.2m in 1932.

There is a considerable lack of skilled workers.

Appropriately qualified labour can-

Hamburger Abendblatt

not be found for 54,000 jobs or 17 per cent of the total number of vacant positions for skilled workers in the manufacturing sector.

People are still demonstrating today. Nowadays, however, not so much against the terrible state of the labour market, but against the building of airports, of nuclear energy plants, and of motorways.

All these projects could in fact create more jobs.

Yet jobs in these fields are being cut back, and their creation prevented by

## Skilled men still in demand

Many businesses have a shortage of skilled labour, despite unemployment of almost two million.

A year ago, a report reveals that almost a third of German firms had "an acute" lack of skilled labour.

Now a survey has been issued by the Federal Labour Office's Institute for Labour Market and Occupation Research together with the Ifo economic research institute of Munich.

It says that a lack of trained labour is not to blame. There are enough skilled workers.

The number of professionally trained skilled workers by far exceeds the vacancies.

In 1979, 7.9m employed West Germans had completed some form of professional training.

At the same time, only 4.1 million West Germans were actually employed as skilled workers.

This discrepancy is underlined by another result of the report.

According to the Ifo Institute, there were between 159,000 and 239,000 vacancies for skilled workers in September 1980.

At the same time 302,000 people completed their training to become skilled workers.

But many trained as skilled workers have left their intended occupations.

Seven hundred and eleven thousand qualified fitters and mechanics, 195,000 skilled building workers, and 218,000 skilled workers employed in the textiles and clothing industries have moved into other jobs.

Only 58 per cent of those trained as skilled workers are in jobs they were actually trained to do.

Forty-two per cent of those who have changed their jobs found better working conditions, improved income opportunities and easier work elsewhere.

The general insecurity associated with employment as a skilled worker is another important factor.

This would indicate that there is a discrepancy between training and the job.

Most of the people who leave will never again return as skilled labour, says the report.

To begin with, nowadays isn't a great difference between what a skilled or semi-skilled worker can earn.

Apart from this, the skilled workers will lose their special skills and abilities over time, and a return to the original occupation becomes increasingly difficult.

(Handelsblatt, 16 April 1982)

## Truth revealed: prison no bar to unemployment opportunities

Unemployment is making itself felt even in German prisons.

Many prisoners work directly for outside firms, doing such things as putting together fluorescent tubes and plastic toys. Firms sometimes install machinery inside.

But recession is forcing many firms to cancel prison contracts.

The head of Penal Affairs in Bavaria's Ministry of Justice can understand the firms taking such action.

In times of economic recession it is obvious that the prisoners will be dropped before any steps are taken to cut back the regular workforce.

Even the fact that prisoners are cheap labour, not entitled to Christmas money, holiday money or other social benefits, cannot change this.

Firms often have to allow for greater transport distances and for the fact that prison labour is often not well qualified.

hundreds of thousands protesting. This would have been unimaginable in 1932.

Unemployment in those days meant social misery and sheer, utter poverty.

Although a person's standard of living may drop nowadays if he loses his job, social welfare prevents a nosedive into want and starvation.

The system of national insurance makes sure that no-one is abandoned.

An industrial worker today averages gross earnings of about DM2,650 a month. This means that a married man with two children takes home about DM1912.

If he loses his job, he receives 68 per cent of this figure as earnings-related unemployment money, amounting to about DM1,300 a month.

Not everyone is entitled to unemployment money, only those who have paid their contributions for a minimum period.

This money can be claimed for one year at the most. After this a form of unemployment assistance can be claimed, which amounts to 58 per cent of the net amount of money previously earned.

The average industrial worker, with two children, would then receive DM1109.

On top of this, he can apply for child allowance and in certain cases rent rebate.

Admittedly, the annual holiday in Majorca, and the new car every three years will have to wait, but at least there is enough money until he finds another job.

Many people draw other parallels to events in 1932, which ultimately paved the way for Hitler's take-over a year later.

Brüning's deflationary policy and government saving in the wrong places are mistakes which should not be repeated.

Current demands for public service workers to accept moderate wage settle-

ments have nothing to do with the policies once pursued by the *Reichskanzler*.

The aim today is not to cut back the salaries altogether. Even a freeze of public service incomes is not intended.

It's just that wages and salaries ought not to increase twice as fast as economic growth as a whole.

Anyone with a job in the civil service, which after all is a permanent position, who complains about having to make a special sacrifice, and then compares the situation today with the one in 1932, should read what happened during the 1930s.

Klaus Kramer  
(Hamburger Abendblatt, 15 April 1982)

## The stay-put managers

Every second West German firm has discovered that its middle and upper management is not interested in working abroad.

There are many reasons for this: 49 per cent of the managers referred to family problems; 31 per cent to their general insecurity about living abroad; 18 per cent to the fear of disadvantages to their own careers; and 10 per cent to worries about their social security.

The survey was carried out on 626 firms by the West German Federation of German Industry and the Carl-Duisberg Society.

The report was then evaluated by the Institute for German Economic Research.

According to the report, the reluctance to work abroad is much greater in large firms.

Particularly those working in commercial sectors in large firms were more worried about the possible damage to their career chances than in the smaller or medium-sized firms.

Even the firms themselves had become more reluctant to send their staff abroad.

The reasons given were the costs involved and the indispensability of certain members of staff.

dpa/VWD  
(Westdeutsche Allgemeine, 20 April 1982)

Prisoners allowed to work in firms outside of the prison were, up to now, able to pay off their debts, support their families and even save up money until they are released.

In North Rhine-Westphalia they were paid a gross average of DM2,500 a month.

"There's just no way of finding new jobs for this group," says a Ministry spokesman.

"If they sit around in their cells doing nothing, they might start getting the wrong ideas," he said.

A general wave of rioting is not expected, but pent-up aggressions may well lead to additional strains between the prisoners and the prison guards.

One attempt to prevent this from happening is being carried out in Bavaria.

A job-sharing scheme will try to ensure that each prisoner is able to work at least a few hours a day. In addition, more sport and other forms of leisure activities are to be introduced.

However, up until then a large number of prisoners will have to put up with being sentenced to doing nothing.

Monika Seimann  
(Die Welt, 16 April 1982)



## ■ THE ECONOMY

## Lively export performance inspires hope that current account will balance

Exports, helped by the depreciation of the deutschmark in real terms, have become a pillar of a sagging economy — some say the only pillar.

There is even some hope that export successes could benefit domestic business as well.

The fact is that the export boom last year prevented a further drop in industrial production.

Today, export successes are seen in a much more glowing light than a few years ago when they came under fire as a possible danger to stability.

Now, exports are seen as playing a major role in overcoming the economic slump, reducing joblessness and doing away with the balance of payments deficit. Only if exports continue to rise will the current account, become balanced.

This was clear last year when exports helped reduce the balance of payments deficit by DM12.3bn to DM17.5bn.

In 1981, exports showed a growth rate of 13.5 per cent, reaching a volume of DM397bn. Of this, 7.5 per cent was accounted for by price increases and 6 per cent by quantity increases.

This is the more remarkable when seen in the light of last year's stagnating volume of world trade.

The German business community has thus captured additional markets and increased its share of world exports. It now ranks second only to the United States as an exporter.

A comparison: Germany's imports last year rose only 8.1 per cent to DM396bn. But, deducting price increases, purchases from abroad dropped by about 4 per cent.

As a result, the trade surplus tripled to reach DM28bn — and that despite deteriorating terms of trade (the ratio between export and import prices) which worsened from 90.2 in 1980 to 85.5 in 1981.

In addition, the oil bill rose by another DM11bn to DM75bn despite diminished energy imports.

This was due to sluggish domestic business which put the brakes on imports. At the same time, production capacities became available for export goods. Another major contributing factor was the development of exchange rates.

In 1981, the deutschmark declined about 13 per cent against the dollar while it gained only 6.8 per cent against a basket of European currencies.

Taking foreign inflation rates into account, this means that the deutschmark actually depreciated on the world's foreign exchange markets.

As a result, German goods became more competitive on both foreign and domestic markets.

The greatest export growth (53 per cent) was achieved in trade with the Opec countries. Here, German business profited from the oil-producing countries' high petrodollar surpluses.

Success is evidenced by the fact that Germany managed to achieve a trade surplus with the Opec countries despite the dramatic increase in oil prices.

Trade with non-European industrial countries was also buoyant and showed a growth rate of 27 per cent.

Shipments to non-oil producing deve-

loping countries were marked by an above average growth rate as well.

Trade with the other EEC countries did not grow so much.

Where imports are concerned, the conspicuous aspect is the steep rise (26 per cent) in purchases from Japan. But this was partly offset by the 20 per cent growth in exports to Japan.

Even so, the balance of German-Japanese trade slithered further into the red.

The significance of trade with the East Bloc diminished further.

But none of this was enough to offset the growing deficits in transfers and service trade with foreign countries.

Last year's deficit in the service trade rose by DM4.8bn to DM19.5bn. This was primarily due to the continued stream of German tourists to foreign countries. They spent DM26bn more than foreign tourists spent in the Federal Republic of Germany.

As a result of our heavy borrowing abroad, there was also a DM1.1bn deficit in capital earnings compared with a surplus of DM3.2bn a year earlier.

The traditional deficit in the transfer sector (DM27bn in 1981) was primarily due to the money foreign workers transferred to their home countries (DM8bn) and DM6bn net payments to the EEC.

The combined deficit in the service trade and transfers has doubled since 1978 and now is DM47bn.

It remains to be seen whether growing surpluses in trade in goods will suffice to offset this deficit before the year is over.

The views of experts differ widely, despite a general export optimism.

In any event, Bundesbank President Otto Pöhl is fairly confident that Germany will balance its current account by the end of this year.

The Bonn government reckons on a deficit ranging from zero to about DM10bn. But the Economic Affairs Ministry seems to be pretty confident that the figure will be nearer zero.

To do away with our balance of payments deficit, trade surpluses would have to double once more to reach between DM50bn and DM60bn.

This is not considered impossible even though it would presuppose a 12 per cent growth rate in our exports against 7 per cent in imports.

The projection in the annual economic report assumes a 10.5 to 11.5 per cent export growth against 7 to 8 per cent for imports and is thus not far removed from these figures.

Prospects on foreign markets this year are once more not bad at all.

Exporters are still profiting from the depreciation (in real terms) of the deutschmark.

The range of goods coincides with current market conditions because other countries have also not fully adjusted to increased energy costs.

The stepped up efforts of the German business community to capture new markets abroad are only just beginning to pay off.

Germany's export business is also likely to profit from international economic developments.

The Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) assumes that this year's economic growth in the Western industrial countries will be the same as in 1981 (between 1 and 1.5 per cent); but the economic decline in the United States is likely to shift growth in the GNP to Europe.

The result would be a further rise in Germany's export quota.

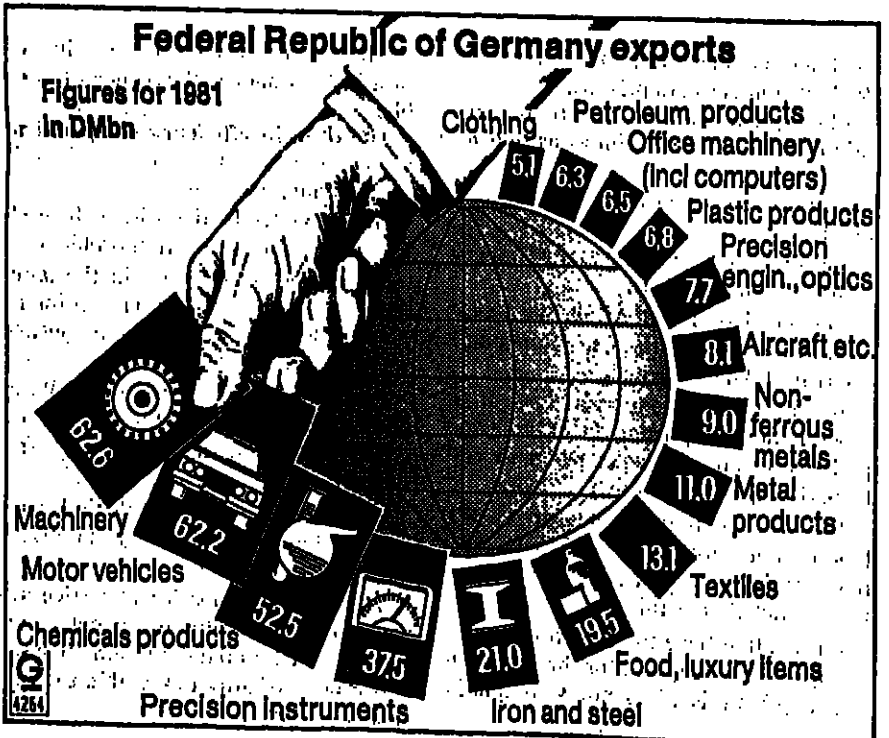
According to a study prepared by the Berlin-based German Institute for Economic Research (DIW), foreign sales of the processing industry (plus mining) accounted for 26 per cent of total sales in 1981 (annual average).

The 1970 ratio stood at only 18 per cent, clearly reflecting the significance of foreign trade.

Among the most successful branches of industry regarding exports were motor vehicles, electrical engineering and mechanical engineering, the study says.

The motor vehicle industry in particular showed an increase in exports from 40.3 per cent in 1980 to 43.9 per cent last year.

Similar growth was only recorded in 1973/74, in other words, after the first oil price rise.



In mechanical engineering, the export quota stands at 44.6 per cent and in electrical engineering at 30 per cent.

These quotas are outstripped by ship building (51.9 per cent) and office equipment (53.9 per cent).

The successes were no windfall. German industry was forced to make a strong export effort because the Federal Republic of Germany is more dependent on imports than was the Reich.

Immediately after the 1948 currency reform, German companies made a big effort to recapture lost markets.

A high export volume was a must in promoting industrialisation, without which we would neither have managed to reduce unemployment nor to integrate the refugees.

These objectives had to be realised even in the face of the fact that important East European markets were closed to German industry.

In the West it was frequently Britain that filled gaps left by German industry. In 1949, British exports amounted to \$6.6bn and were thus six times the amount exported by Germany.

It took German companies only nine years to catch up.

The turning point on the export front was the 1951 Korea boom.

Due to slack domestic business at that time, German industry was able to

### DIE WELT

produce for export and capture an above-average share of the world-wide booming demand.

As a consequence, German exports rose by more than 70 per cent; and Germany was thus able to recapture and consolidate its former position in world trade.

The Federal Republic of Germany's share of world exports in the first half of the 1950s was just under 5 per cent. By the early 1970s, it had doubled this quota and is still holding that position.

The attitude of German companies towards the export business played a major role here. They were prepared to adapt to foreign market conditions, cater to the wishes of customers and develop an extensive sales and service network.

In the long run, German industry also benefited from sticking to contracts and delivery dates.

This, combined with a fine reputation and the high technological standards provided a sound basis for foreign trade successes.

In fact, so sound was this basis that it initially weathered the monetary turbulence and the permanent appreciation of the deutschmark in the 1970s.

It was not until the end of the last decade that the structure began to show cracks and German business started to become less competitive. This was evidenced by growing imports of finished products.

The old basis has meanwhile become solid again.

What does worry German exporters is the growing protectionism resulting not only in import obstacles but also in export subsidies and state assistance when it comes to financing exports.

Though this naturally hurts, we must not be tempted to emulate such practices. After all, it was not only last year that Germany fared well with its market economy.

Hans-Jürgen Alshake  
(Die Welt, 20 April 1982)

## ■ BUSINESS

## Optimism that Hanover fair will push up sales

Trade fairs are often used as a way of boosting business in times of economic slackness.

This explains why the 36th Hanover Fair is attracting so many visitors to see so many exhibits.

The fair has been the world's largest for 10 years despite the fact that consumer goods are no longer featured.

Exhibitors are willing to spend a lot of money taking part, so they must be optimistic that the orders will eventually come.

At first glance there is little different at this year's show. Business is still sailing for an economic upturn and is still complaining about the conditions which it has to operate in.

The tug-of-war in Bonn over the new job creation programme how it is to be financed has caused insecurity rather than given direction.

But a closer look shows that there have been considerable changes and that today's pessimism is exaggerated. The indicators point to an upswing before year's end.

The balance of payments deficit that put a damper on the economy last year has dropped from DM30bn in 1980 to DM18bn last year and may reach zero by the end of this year.

Last year's record export figures and dropping oil bills due to economising measures have caused a minor miracle. The decline in GNP in the first half

of 1981 has since been reversed. But this is generated by exports only.

The course taken by previous economic cycles shows, however, that recoveries have always been marked by export booms.

Positive signals are also coming from the price and cost front. The inflation rate has come down from last October's peak of 6.7 per cent. It is now 5.2 per cent, the level of the autumn of 1980.

Moderate wage deals and declining raw materials prices — especially for oil — have further eased the pressure on production costs.

And for the first time in two years there has been an improvement in business earnings, which are now rising more steeply than salaries and wages.

This means better prospects for rising investments, which are a must for an upswing. Declining interest rates round off a picture that is becoming increasingly rosy.

The relatively strong dollar has been promoting exports more than it has harmed imports because the low commodity prices on world markets have softened the detrimental effects on imports of an expensive dollar.

Diminishing cost pressure in industry had made German goods on foreign markets more competitive. This means that there is no threat to German exports at present even though the East Bloc countries are buying less because of their heavy foreign debts.



Göttingen University scientists have taken 20 years developing a miniature pig for genetic research. This one, at 30 kilos only a 10th as heavy as a normal pig and therefore much cheaper to keep, was an exhibit at the Hanover fair. (Photo: dpa)

But because the starting position was poor, the improvements are not quite enough.

But unlike last year, all economic indicators now point in the right direction.

Unfortunately, there has been no improvement on the labour market, the greatest source of concern.

The position has deteriorated considerably against last year, and there is every likelihood that it will continue throughout the 1980s — even if there is an economic upswing.

The world-wide unemployment of today is no longer due to economic performance but is a structural problem.

Hansjürgen Wehrmann  
(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 21 April 1982)

## World's largest industrial show grew out of war-time rubble

But the division of Germany came to Hanover's rescue.

Its fair continued to grow. Between 1949 and 1953 it was divided in two sections, a show of samples and a technical fair.

Starting from 1950, foreign exhibitors took part, and in the 1960s Hanover became the world's largest fair and a shop window for German industry.

But this also brought problems. As far back as 20 years ago, exhibitors started debating the value of fairs. That was towards the end of the 1950s when the fair showed signs of bursting out of its seams. The debate was not without consequences.

More and more producers of consumer goods stopped exhibiting because they felt suffocated by the capital goods on show.

And then many makers of capital goods also shifted to other specialised fairs where they felt that they could show their products more effectively than at the vast and overcrowded Hanover Fair.

As the years went by, whole branches of industry stayed away from Hanover including the chemicals, companies, the radio and TV industry, machine tool makers and later — the makers of construction and construction materials machinery.

Whole exhibition halls remained empty. So was much open-air space which had once attracted a lot of people who just wanted to look around.

The reason was that Leipzig was the traditional German city for fairs, and it did not want to change.

terdependence of German companies and branches of industry is growing rather than diminishing.

In view of this, there is little point in using specialised fairs to display specific details rather than going to a comprehensive fair like Hanover and showing things in their overall context. Even so, there is plenty of scope for specialised fairs.

But the organisers and exhibitors at such fairs must rethink. They must learn to not only present products but also to place them in the right context for the potential user.

No potential buyer attends a fair, because he needs one particular item. He comes because he wants to see whether the item in question and its use will generate additional benefits to his company — benefits he did not know about before.

In other words, the products must be shown in an environment that is governed by division of labour.

If the organisers of the Hanover Fair succeed in imparting to it this added quality, they will not have to worry about the future.

In any event, the signs of the past few years augur well.

Industrial fairs have long ceased to be mere selling events. A fair is unsuitable for this purpose because negotiations preceding a deal — especially in the capital goods sector — have become too complicated for that, not to mention the intricacies of long-term financing.

As a result, major deals at such fairs are coincidental and fall in the sphere of show business rather than commerce.

Gerd Brüggemann  
(Die Welt, 20 April 1982)



**I**n Germany on the brink of civil war? Are embittered clashes over nuclear power stations, airport runways and squatters but a foretaste of ideological warfare?

In the 50s, the early days of the Federal Republic of Germany, such queries would have seemed absurd.

Now, with the growing inclination to prefer direct action to compromise, they are increasingly being asked by both left- and right-wingers.

Not since the days of the Weimar Republic, from 1919 to 1933, has such controversy raged over violence as a means to political ends.

The debate on whether or not violence is inevitable has been joined by Karl Dietrich Bracher, head of political science and contemporary history at the University of Bonn.

Professor Bracher is an authority on the downfall of the Weimar Republic and the Nazi assumption of power.

His latest book is a major contribution to the debate and a call for a more careful attitude towards basic rights and free institutions.

Published by Severin und Siedler, it is entitled *Geschichte und Gewalt/Zur Politik im 20. Jahrhundert* (History and Violence, Politics in the 20th Century).

It is best termed an instruction manual, based on a historical ground-work, on the power of ideological persuasion.

Historians are confronted in the 60s and 70s by a strange phenomenon. Decades that featured a new wave of the cult of violence were also decades of future and peace research that sought to improve on all previous attempts to account for and supersede violence in politics and society.

Proclamations of peace policy and peace research were accompanied by il-

## ■ PERSPECTIVES

# Political scientist condemns trend towards violence

lusions and abuse of an avowedly progressive interpretation of the concept of violence.

Professor Bracher emphasises as having been particularly influential the dubious theory of structural violence, a concept that could be used at will to justify what was then termed counter-violence.

This line of thought has been the hallmark of a wide range of recent theories of conflict.

It extends from the cult of change to the glorification of revolution, from extolling the virtues of militant liberation movements to outlining justifications of terrorism.

How is it that such theories came to exercise such fascination in political and social science and that their powers of destruction were able to spread worldwide?

Historical experience shows that attempts to civilise politics and domesticate violence are doomed to failure whenever the use of force and violation of human rights are claimed to be warranted for the sake of an allegedly perfect future society.

Professor Bracher sees a profound paradox in contemporary German history, a twofold frame of reference of political consciousness.

On the one hand the days of young people's parents and grandparents, seen as extending into the 50s, were emphatically rejected.

On the other, in the 60s the revolutionary breakthroughs and polarisations of 1917 and 1918 were conjured and glorified, culminating in the student unrest of 1968.

If 1945 to 1960 is taken as an era of deideologisation, it was followed by a period of reversion to ideological struggle, to revolutionary expectations and to the promises of yesterday.

There was a rerun of the late capitalism and late bourgeois debate dating back to the turn of the century.

The terms late capitalism and late bourgeois indicate disappointment at anti-bourgeois hopes having been dashed and at the post-1945 *Weltgeist* by no means having led to the decline and fall of the bourgeois as forecast by its critics.

Measured by the yardstick of resignation and anti-liberal sentiment in the early 30s, there was an unexpected renaissance of liberal democratic ideas and bourgeois concepts of freedom.

Ruptures en route to the 80s are most informative. The relative peace and quiet of the 50s was followed by the tempestuous unrest of the 60s with their slogans of emancipation and cultural revolution.

This was followed by a deeper change that has been in progress since the mid-70s. A euphoric belief in progress has given way to doubts as to the values of technological civilisation and even outbreaks of despair.

In 1908 Georges Sorel, the French syndicalist, wrote a pamphlet entitled *Illusions of Progress*. This is an idea that is very much appropriate again today.

Professor Bracher demonstrates his utopian belief in progress and a pessimistic view of history have since drifted further and further apart.

To this day both, with the one against the other, have developed a deep ideological motive force that has shattered confidence in peaceful solutions.

It is no coincidence that the movements of the 60s and 70s emerged at the same time as the proscription of the concept of totalitarianism (both in politics and in art) and a resurgence of tendency to dub opponents fascists.

These trends served the purpose of establishing uniform, neo-totalitarian lines of thought and concepts of action.

With the concept of totalitarianism declared taboo, the crucial contrast between parliamentary democracy and totalitarian despotism of both the Left and the Right was inevitably repressed.

The totalitarian threat was seen as being limited to a fascist and thus allegedly capitalist threat. This led to an embarrassing problem.

Left-wing use of force was felt to be ideologically unsatisfactory as a concept, so it was frequently decried as fascist. This, Bracher notes, implied the left- and right-wing extremism were interchangeable.

The debate is more topical than ever. Professor Bracher sets no great store by a prematurely prophesied end of ideologies.

His aim is to heighten awareness of the continuing worldwide threat to politics of moderation posed by ideological persuasion and the misuse of violence.

Hans Schuster  
(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 1 April 1982)

## THE MOTOR INDUSTRY

# When autobahn with missing link meets budget with missing cash

Trunk roadbuilding has been hit harder than any other item by Bonn budget cuts over the past two years, and medium-term financial planning provides for even more cuts.

Despite higher prices Bonn plans to spend DM11.5bn less on trunk roads in the 80s, and many bodies, especially industrial organisations, lamented the lack of political backing for roadbuilding.

In principle, they say, the road network is good, but there are still major gaps and bottlenecks, and not just near the big cities or at summer holiday weekends.

They are shortcomings that impose intolerable economic burdens.

## Shell predicts car bonanza

Deutsche Shell say the motor industry is due for a modest bonanza before long. The number of cars registered at the Flensburg driving and vehicle licence centre is expected to increase from 1980's 23.3m to 26.7m in 1985.

In the long term, given structural change and economic recovery, Shell expects the number of cars in the Federal Republic of Germany to increase by over five million in the next 10 years and reach about 30m by the end of the century.

This is a substantial increase on the number forecast in 1979. It is due not to a change in assumptions on the probable number of cars per head of population but to an increase in the number of people expected to be living in Germany.

In 1979 the population at the end of the century was expected to be 56m. In 1981 it was expected to be 57.4m. Given migration trends the number could be even larger.

If population trends are regularly rechecked, statistical assumptions on car ownership will need regular revision too, the company says.

(Die Welt, 15 April 1982)

## Lower gas prices, but driving still gets more expensive

Filling station prices are lower than a year ago, but motoring is still more expensive. Four per cent more, according to ADAC, the Munich-based road organisation, and the Federal Statistics Office in Wiesbaden.

You may say that isn't too bad with inflation running at 5.2 per cent, but with the motor trade very quiet already, higher prices are not going to send people rushing to the nearest car dealer's showrooms.

Car manufacturers are to blame for much of the extra expense, and their price increases are due only in part to higher steel prices.

Car prices have been increased by an average 6.5 per cent over the past year and they are in the process of going up again. Higher wages are not a good enough reason.

Garages are charging more and more by the year too.

## Nordwest-Zeitung

Motorists have done their best to keep costs down. They are why filling station prices have fallen and motor insurers have kept higher insurance premiums to 3.2 per cent, or less than the average increase in the cost of motoring.

This lower-than-average increase in motor insurance premiums is due to better road discipline and fewer serious accidents and road deaths.

Both are due to a more rational and responsible use of man's four-wheeled friend. Let us hope this outlook will continue to keep costs down.

Karl Heitz Vaubel  
(Nordwest-Zeitung, 15 April 1982)

## Spring brings no fair weather for the manufacturers

Spring has failed give the motor industry a much-needed fillip. The rising cost of motoring seems to have had a lasting effect.

Also, Germans seem to feel sceptical about economic prospects in general. They are just not buying new cars yet.

Only exports are doing well, mainly because the deutschemark is good value for money at present in terms of its exchange rate with the dollar.

But there are growing signs that the unsatisfactory international economic

outlook is proving increasingly problematic for German exporters.

Motor manufacturers in the Federal Republic of Germany are nonetheless guardedly optimistic. They feel they stand a chance of faring better than in the past against international competition.

They are thinking first and foremost, not unnaturally, of European competitors, who certainly seem to have lost ground. This is less true of the two major manufacturing countries, America and Japan.

Volkswagen of America, for instance, has been harder hit than any other US manufacturer by declining demand. American car-buyers either want an imported VW or are buying another brand.

It could be, of course, that German car ranges clash with what most Americans want in cars. Americans who can afford to do so still buy big gas guzzlers.

This state of affairs will change once US manufacturers start marketing their latest compact models. Times will then be even harder, with US manufacturers probably muscling in on export markets for once.

Japan, the world's leading motor manufacturer, owes its success to lower costs. Long runs can be manufactured at less expense, while lower social security costs on the wage bill are an added bonus.

Besides, the Japanese have a long-term strategy. This might seem a superfluous comment, but doubts at times arise in Germany on this point.

Were Volkswagen right to invest so

roads are sure to mean fewer accidents than two-lane ones.

The man in the street does not really know that there is a dramatic difference in accident statistics between two-lane roads with lights and roads with a central reservation and no intersections.

So the instinctive feeling that the latter must be better cannot be rated too highly and ought to be taken to heart by the politicians.

Opinion-leaders are similarly slow to sense the contradiction inherent in slashing roadbuilding investment on the one hand while calling for road safety improvements on the other.

Fifty-seven per cent, a clear majority, feel that single-purpose campaigns against building various trunk roads and sections of autobahn are not entitled to claim they represent majority opinion.

Instead, they ticked this statement: "Campaigners often represent only the minority views of people directly affected by a projected road. In many cases personal disadvantages are what prompt people to back such campaigns."

This is all that need be said on the subject and it could do with being borne in mind by Free Democrats in particular. The junior partners in Helmut Schmidt's Bonn coalition are often caught in a cleft stick on this one.

They are prone to joining unholy alliances of landowners and environmentalists in backing campaigns of this kind.

Michael Hill  
(Handelsblat, 21 April 1982)

heavily in new markets? The money wasted on such ventures could well be used right now for essential investment.

Domestic manufacturers have often had decisions forced upon them by pressure of competition. Improved standard fascia and fittings are a case in point, but only one of several.

Manufacturers would be well advised to step up productivity at an even faster pace. The deutschemark will not always be as weak as it is at present; rationalisation is a must.

Another problem is that fresh environmental regulations could be in the

## DER TAGESSPIEGEL

pipeline. Prevention is better than cure. Manufacturers ought to work on the assumption that they will increasingly be called on to show ecological responsibility.

It goes without saying that international standards would be most helpful in this context.

German environmentalists, sad to say, are woefully unaware of international market conditions. They fail to appreciate that desirable improvements cost money.

Maybe German motor manufacturers could set international standards. Helping to do so would be sure to improve their competitive position.

It also goes without saying that continued efforts must be made to cut fuel consumption. Motor fuel may cost a little less at the filling station these days but this doesn't seem to have sent people in droves to the nearest car dealer's showroom.

Since car prices are sure to be increased again before long it would be most advisable to stick to the straight and narrow path of common sense in motor manufacturing.

(Der Tagesspiegel, 18 April 1982)

## Youth and the challenges and risks facing society

**6** Fear of the future is clearly one reason why young people are sceptical and given to protest... much of his scepticism would appear to be warranted. — Richard von Weizsäcker

taught a kind of lobby mentality, an outlook implying a priori that they are in the right, then society will to all intents and purposes breed nothing but conflict.

Solidarity will then be taken to mean a struggle among equals and with equals against the unequal, the opponents, the enemies.

To counteract this trend is a crucial task for democracy and its further development.

To appreciate interests and to grasp the initiative as a citizen is all well and good. It is essential. There was a shortfall to make good. That it has been made good is, in my view, all to the good.

But the law is not a statistical unit. It faces fresh and repeated challenges from changing circumstances, technological developments and outlooks and wishes of the public.

These are challenges to which it must measure up. Minorities have a right to their own way of life even where it is at odds with that of the majority.

The role of government is to protect the minority so that it can live its own way of life.

Young people have a right to embark

on their own quest for new ways of living, a right to be different, and it is up to the majority to support the right of minorities to live in their own alternative way.

But this they can only do if the alternatives, here meaning people rather than the ideas they espouse, refrain from trying to impose their convictions by force on society as a whole.

This is to break the law, and it is a crucial task for the state to make sure that the law is upheld and sanctions are ensured against those who break it.

If breaches of the law were no longer followed up and punished, the clenched fist would reign supreme, with vigilantes and strong-arm squads holding sway.

In a situation such as this, minority rights would inevitably be forfeited.

Democracy needs the strength to settle conflicts. It must also retain the ability to reach decisions.

We must be capable not only of conflict but also of seeking compromise and peace on the basis of a law that is valid for all.

Fear of the future is clearly one reason why young people are sceptical and given to protest. It is prompted by the

pace of scientific and technological progress and by a mass society, an anonymous society.

Much of this scepticism would appear to be warranted. Have we in fact done enough to ensure that we are ethically, socially and culturally in control of innovations?

Is everything that is technologically feasible really meaningful in political and human terms?

We ought to be prepared to accept young people striving for nearness to nature, for a more unassuming way of life, for greater clarity in all spheres of life and for spontaneity, a sense of community and communication.

If the alternative scene were to lead to less envy, if being different rather than more than others were the aim of alternative neighbourliness, would that not be good for us all?

In recent years there have been many demands for the individual to be given preference to the collective once more, for social commitment to be given preference to government care and bureaucracy.

Small and clearer structures, we have been told, ought to replace anonymous units of life and work. Many people active in what is called the alternative scene would like to accomplish just that.

They reject violence and increasingly realise that street fighting and breaking the law do them more harm than good.

These are young people with whom we must get talking, and we must be prepared to take a critical look at ourselves.

Richard von Weizsäcker,  
Governing Mayor of West Berlin  
(Wirtschaftswache, 16 April 1982)

A new generation with a new awareness has emerged. It is worried about the future. It is more keenly aware of the threat facing the ecological balance.

It rightly wonders whether we are still capable of handling politically, ethically and socially what is technologically possible.

This is an issue related to the further development of nuclear power and the technological development of weapon systems.

It is good that people are readier and more capable than they used to be of campaigning for their demands.

But there is also a danger of many people forgetting that conflicts should aim at bringing about solutions and that they must result in compromises and decisions.

We used to complain that people tended to opt out of political decisions. Now we seem well on the way to an outlook that only accepts decisions of which we happen to approve.

Some feel grass-roots activity in single-purpose campaigns is the only legitimate form of political activity and seem inclined to lay claim to a right to veto decisions reached in public affairs.

We have a constitutional government bound by the rule of law, and that is a major and crucial step forward, but legal filibustering makes one wonder just what democratic decisions are still possible.

There are too many people who genuinely believe justice will only be done once they personally have been done justice.

This is partly because children are, quite rightly, taught at school to think critically.

But if the upshot is that they are



## SHIPPING

# Merchant fleet on the wane as recession and trade barriers hit cargoes

Last year the number of cargo ships decreased for the first time ever. Ninety-one ships were either sold abroad or scrapped altogether.

The West German government, the shipping companies and the unions have not yet reached agreement on the best means of reviving this hard-hit sector.

At the end of 1979 most experts had high hopes for a recovery.

The slight devaluation of the Deutschmark against the dollar increased earnings in US-currency regions.

However, this wasn't enough to get the German shipping lines back on the shipping lanes.

The situation this year underlines the trend that the competitiveness of the German merchant fleet is on the wane.

The recession in the international economy and the resulting protectionist measures by many Western industrialised countries are just two of the reasons for this.

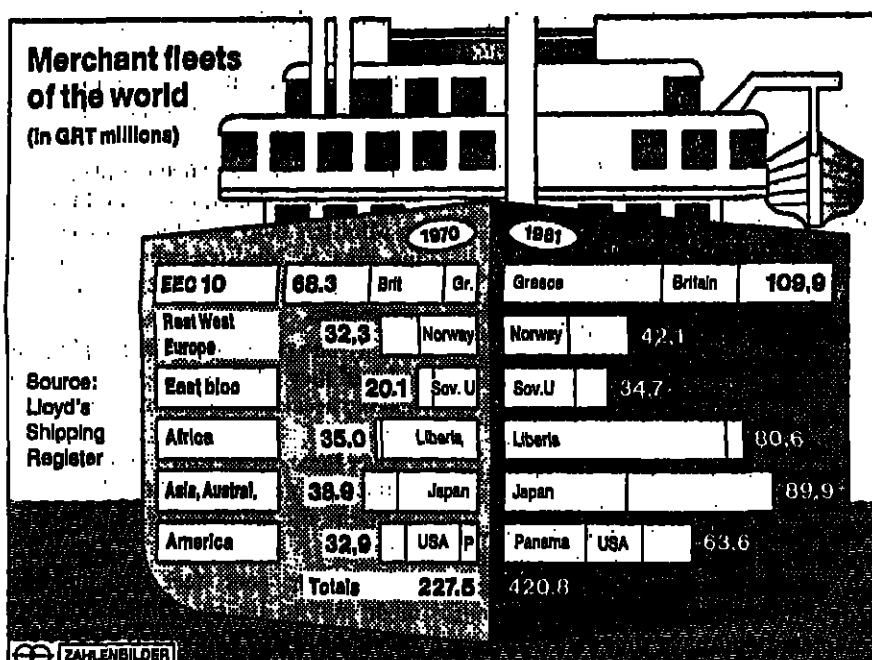
Increasing competition from Eastern bloc fleets does not help either.

Large tankers are no better off. Empty tonnage has created problems.

More and more German shipping companies are in the red.

Companies like the Deutsche Dampfschiffahrts-Gesellschaft Hansa have gone broke.

Statistics tell a sad story: according to the Association of German Ship Owners in Hamburg, the German ocean-going merchant fleet on 1 Janu-



ry consisted of 546 ships with a tonnage of 8,222 million registered gross tons. Last year there were 561 ships with a tonnage of 8,340 million tons.

One hundred and ten of them sail under flags of convenience at times; 215 always do.

For the first time, there was a drop in the total number of ships in 1981.

Ninety-one ships with a registered gross tonnage of 430,000 tons were either sold abroad or scrapped.

The tonnage carried under flags of convenience also decreased by 120,000

tons during the same period. Transport Minister Volker Hauff together with the shipping companies and the unions all want to get something done. But they can't agree on how.

Hauff hopes to help the ailing shipping companies with tax relief, financial support and by promoting a shipbuilding programme.

The unions, however, would like fewer German ships sailing under flags of convenience.

Countries offering these flags, such as Liberia or Panama, try to attract fo-

Many oil tankers are likely to go to the scrapyard over the next few years. There are just too many for the cargo available.

One report says that large tankers have lowered their rates so far, in attempts to get cargoes, that fuel costs and port charges are not always covered.

Last year 41 tankers were sold to scrapyards, according to the 1981 report by Interako, the association of private tanker companies.

It feels that scrapping on a large scale is the only answer to the problem.

There are many reasons why so many tankers are either lying idle or slowly playing the high seas hoping for something to come along.

## Oil tankers set sail for their destination: the scrapyard

One is the drop in oil consumption after the first oil price rise in 1973. No one expected consumption to drop as fast as it did.

Since 1979 alone, the consumption of industrialised countries has dropped by 14 per cent. In Germany it dropped by 20 per cent.

Another reason is that oil fields are being discovered near consumer coun-

tries, for example, North Sea and the American Rocky Mountains.

Two other factors: the opening of the Suez Canal and the construction of a large pipeline from the Persian Gulf to the Red Sea.

Both shortened shipping distances to Europe. This means that not only are fewer ships needed, but also that the long runs, where super tankers are most economical, have been cut out.

In 1979, there was an air of optimism among shipowners after the years of slump: they are optimistic no more.

Up until 1973, the oil shipping business just kept on getting bigger and bigger.

There seemed to be no end in sight. After all the demand was never ending and the supply inexhaustible.

Tankers were being built at a furious rate, particularly in Japan where mammoth floating oil barrels capable of carrying 200,000 tons were put together in seven months.

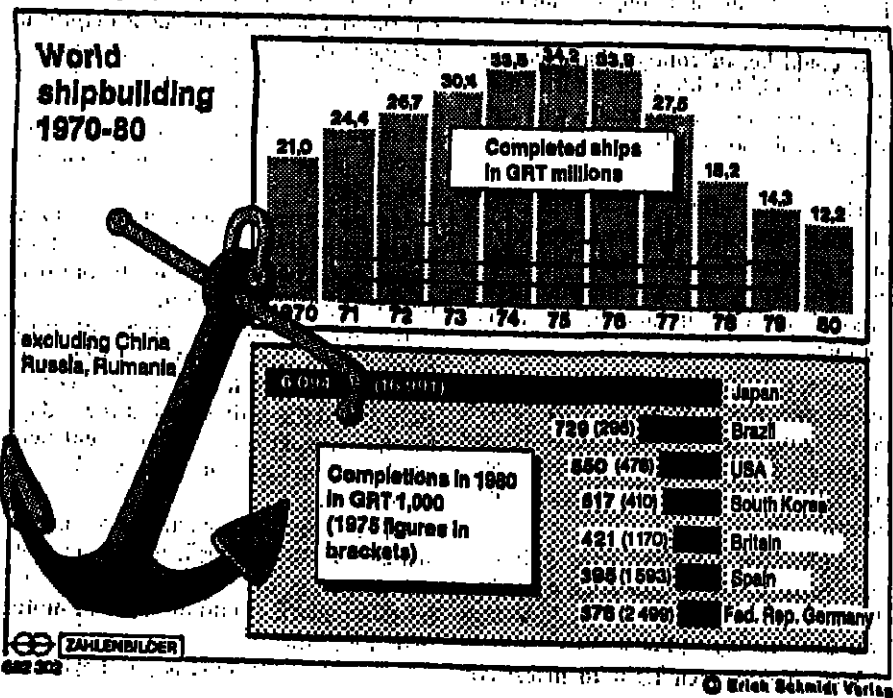
Then ships capable of carrying 500,000 tons became no exception.

In 1969 there were about 30 shipyards throughout the world which built ships of 200,000 tons and over.

Revolutionary plans were put forward for extending and expanding port facilities.

Hamburg had big plans for the Elbe estuary.

The oil shock in 1973 changed all



reign companies by tax concessions. Apart from this, the conventional lines turn a blind eye to lax safety regulations. The unions are also unhappy about the fact that companies flying convenience flags can pay well below the German level.

The Civil Servants and Public Transport Workers Union (ÖTV) has worked out a special programme in which Government is urged to do more.

The Association of German Ship Owners have already rejected union's proposals.

It would like to see an improved investment climate for shipping companies.

Productivity must be increased, the role of private capital strengthened. Shipowners strongly oppose any nationalisation plans the unions have.

The unions would like to see nationalisation carried out as soon as two thirds of the German merchant fleet sail under flags of convenience.

At present 35 per cent do.

As opposed to the British or the Portuguese, the Germans have never been a seafaring nation, says Munich historian Golo Mann.

Important political events in Germany's history have mainly taken place on land. Even if this is true, it will be interesting to see what course merchant shipping in Germany will take.

Hans Westendorf, head of the shipping department at the Bonn Transport Ministry, predicted in 1981 that it would not be long before "there is such thing as a German merchant shipping fleet". Let us hope his prediction is wrong.

Whatever happens, there's still a way to go yet.

Volker Dieckmann  
(Nürnberger Nachrichten, 14 April 1982)

that. The huge tankers became so expensive because as oil consumption dropped.

It took almost seven years before the last two tankers left their parking lot in the Bay of Gdansk in the Baltic Sea.

The ship owners association said last year: "The crude oil tanker business had another rough year in 1980. Although the market trends were favourable to begin with, primarily a result of the setting up of oil stocks, there was a drastic deterioration in 1980."

Now the oil-producing nations want to export not only crude oil, but also oil and petrol as well.

If this happened on any sort of scale at all, it would mean even less demand for the big tankers but increased demand for specialist tankers.

Some of the man companies are planning their business on specialist tankers.

One of a proposed series of such vessels has been built by Bremer AG Weser for a Hamburg firm.

But that still leaves the big tanker as the answer. Conversion is too expensive.

Many shippers are playing for time. Some are keeping the ships sailing on the ten empty. Others are using them for storage.

But that is not much of a help in getting the companies out of the red.

Karsten Pflüger  
(Der Tagesspiegel, 28 April 1982)

## THE ARTS

## Oberhausen festival takes heed of criticism

Documentary film-makers felt after last year's Oberhausen film festival that the Ruhr city's festival of short films had hit rock bottom.

They called for a more critical look at society, a return to the spirit of '68. They said the festival was colourless, a bland balance showing lamentable disregard for current events.

There were, they complained, no entries dealing with burning social issues such as the squatters' movement, the peace movement and campaigns against nuclear weapons in Germany.

This year's 14th show of 52 short films made in the Federal Republic of Germany would seem to indicate that last year's criticism has been heeded.

For one, film-makers submitted a wide range of entries on explosive political topics. For another, the festival or-

ganisers and the jury seemed to have acted after last year's frustration.

They combined to rescue what used to be the hardest-hitting film festival in the country with films about squatting, alien clearance, the peace movement, environmental scandals, missile modernisation and the consequences of a nuclear holocaust.

Anger and a radical viewpoint were part of many of the entries. So were anxiety, uncertainty and a feeling of powerlessness.

There were many examples of how such emotions could be converted into the language of the screen, a language evolved in recent years in full-length and experimental films rather than in the documentary, on which it has had very little influence.

The documentary kept to its traditional technique of first interviewing an expert and letting him say a few well-chosen words on the subject, then panning the camera on the object, with a few close-ups of the problem.

This combination was then wrapped up in endless commentary by the film-maker. Documentaries were celluloid lectures, TV aesthetics.

This category is still very much in evidence at Oberhausen. It still accounts for the majority of entries.

Uns verdammeubeln se immer (We Always the Fall Guys) was a documentary made by Rosa Raschig about a dam clearance area of Dortmund in the Ruhr.

It showed local people who faced the camera and told the tale of their everyday lives. The film-maker's technique was so limited that you can almost always see the microphone into which the speaker is speaking.

Gert Bastian - Von einem, der auszug, das Fürchten zu lernen (Gert Bastian, A Man Who Set Out to Put Fear Into Others) is a film by Christoph Boeckel about the peace movement.

Seemingly the only idea he had for a film on the subject was to film the speech by General Bastian (ret.) to the 1981 Protestant Church assembly.

Which is what he did, in full.

Then there was Der lautlose Tod (The Silent Death) by Karl Walloch, a

film about the toxic waste scandal at Stoltzenberg, a Hamburg chemicals factory.

It dealt at length with the history and development of chemical warfare and its consequences, but did so in a bland and remote manner reminiscent of the poorest TV background pieces.

All these films deal with important issues, but what they have to say is not, on its own, enough to make a good film and to make the viewer feel in any way concerned.

This problem was debated at length last year and on the present occasion, being defined as the contradiction between the film-maker's intention and the film's effect on the viewer, the gap between form and content in many documentaries.

But the debate has not yet had the effect of improving the quality of documentaries entered. The documentary's dilemma is still very much apparent.

Not every entry shown at Oberhausen was problematic in this way, however. Take Vom alten Eisen (Any Old Iron) by Ebba Jahn of the Berlin Film and TV Academy.

It was a film about Oberhausen, beginning with an aerial view of the city at night. We are shown the bright lights in the dark growing paler as dawn breaks.

As the day begins, the camera turns to look at a part of the city where coal and iron, the industries that were once its mainstay, have gone, leaving nothing but industrial ruins.

We see an industrial waste land of what once were iron and steel furnaces, minehead towers, slag heaps and factory chimneys.

Frau Jahn shows us in a tender, quietly filmed sequence of images the history of the area and its people. There are no commentaries and no accusing statements or reminiscences.

Carmen Tartaroff of Frankfurt uses much the same approach in her Kribus-Kribus-Domine, the tale of a little girl who lives high up in the mountains of South Tyrol and imagines what life must be like elsewhere.

On what is barely her first visit to the nearest village down from the Alps she no longer feels so playfully sure of herself as she had in the other world of her imagination.

The eyes of a hunting trophy on the wall grow wide, fall and bounce until



A scene from 'Treibgas' (Spray Gas) by Hannes Karnick and Wolfgang Richter.

(Photo: Westdeutsche Kurzfilmlinge Oberhausen)

the dream of the world beyond the mountains becomes a game of marbles. Glass beads bounce and rebound from a tiled floor. We are shown emotion in pictorial form. Imagination, experience and childhood memories are expressed figuratively.

Documentaries can be amusing too, without forfeiting claims to be taken seriously. Take Treibgas (Spray Gas), by Hannes Karnick and Wolfgang Richter.

It is a film about the political climate in the Federal Republic of Germany illustrated by punk graffiti and cartoon drawings of politicians.

Besser liebesgelle Feten als USA-Atomraketen is an example of the graffiti screened. Wild parties, it reads, are better than US missiles.

The film is a mixture of rock music and atomic mushrooms, punks and straight people, air-raid shelters and smoke screens, a spraycan salesman and a building cleaner, and featuring Ronald Reagan, Hans-Dietrich Genscher, Helmut Schmidt and Franz Josef Strauss.

Experiments with new approaches to form, which have not been prolific in recent years, were most interesting this time. It was not just a matter of technical games with colour or trick sequences but of new ideas and forms.

Photographic material was alienated by means of quick-motion effects, double exposures, using extraneous material or unusual combinations that are not what we normally see.

Oswind (East Wind), by Michael Majerski, illustrates the loneliness and isolation of people in Berlin. He shows us the sights of the city - streets, monuments, bars and faces - in such a

way that their silence and lack of motion come to symbolise the lack of communication.

The silence is interrupted only by foreigners reciting lines of romantic poetry.

The most convincing film shown was As Time Goes By, by Rosemarie Schneider-Mohamed.

Starting with an old stone wall she looks out at daily from her desk, she develops associations of ideas. Her stream of consciousness takes the form of images projected on to the wall: daily routines, changes in the weather, move-

ments.

Slowly the dreams and fantasies break through the barrier that is the wall, revealing what goes on behind and beyond: everyday life.

It is an interplay of inside and out that despite the intimacy and individual nature of what Frau Schneider-Mohamed has to say can still be followed, partly by virtue of accompanying texts taken from Bertolt Brecht and Christa Wolf.

Oberhausen has always been a venue for discussion of new developments, both on the screen and in film promotion, distribution and networking. They are major debates on matters of policy.

A resolution was passed calling for the cancellation of plans to close the Hanover Kommunales Kino.

Improvements in distribution were the key feature of the debate on a Hesse film promotion scheme. Where are films, especially shorts, to be shown to a wider public if not at communal cinemas?

Programming must be promoted by the Federal government, the states and local authorities, with distribution and networking facilities being arranged so as to show films in series and by subject.

Hesse's plans came in the wake of film promotion schemes in Bavaria, Berlin, Hamburg and North Rhine-Westphalia. It plans to invest about DM5m a year in the industry.

What is new about the Hesse scheme is the aim of subsidising the preparation of film projects. The opportunity of putting an idea for a film into practice, Hesse's planners say, ought also to be given to people who are less familiar with the medium.

This is arguably a less than brilliant idea. It might be better to plough the money into training facilities for film-makers.

Sabine Heimigärtner  
(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 21 April 1982)

## Defining why East bloc is so afraid of mere words

The advisory council of the research centre into independent literature and social movements in Eastern Europe has held its inaugural session in Bremen.

The centre, which forms part of Bremen University, was set up jointly by Bremen, Hamburg and North Rhine-Westphalia.

Its advisory council consists of six German specialists, including historian Iring Fetscher and political scientist Richard Löwenthal, and one each from Britain and France.

The Volkswagen Foundation has made an initial grant of DM2.9m to help launch the research centre.

The emphasis will be on the written word that avoided the eagle eye of the censor, with consideration also being given to critical and independent views expressed in official publications.

The Volkswagen Foundation has made an initial grant of DM2.9m to help launch the research centre.

(Nürnberger Nachrichten, 15 April 1982)

Two exhibitions of American photographic art are being held in Essen and Düsseldorf.

The show at the Essen Folkwang Museum is devoted to Vienna-born Lisette Model. At least one of the items is familiar: the massive, friendly lady photographed in Coney Island in 1942.

The Düsseldorf exhibition, on show at the CCD Gallery, is devoted to the Hamburg-born American Horst P. Horst.

And here, too, the visitor meets up with a familiar image: an elegiac Coco Chanel reclining on a sofa. The picture was taken in Paris in 1938.

Both photographers were born in 1906 and both now occupy places at the top of their profession. Another thing they have in common is that they photograph only people.

Lisette Model, who was glad to get away from New York and who attended the opening of her show, enjoys meeting new people.

## Expressionists in Peking

An exhibition of German expressionist artists in Peking features 79 oils by Max Beckmann, Franz Marc, Otto Müller, Emil Nolde, and others.

The works are on loan from private owners and various German museums. The exhibition, which has already been shown in New Delhi, is the second such presentation in Peking of German expressionist art.

Last November there was a show of German expressionist graphic art.

dpa  
(Die Welt, 16 April 1982)

## EXHIBITIONS

### American photographs get a double billing

"Photography is very difficult to understand," she says. This is naturally confusing to the viewer, who is sure that it only takes a glance to recognise what she wants to show.

Asked whether men have a different way of photographing than women, she answered with a prompt "no," saying: "There are only good and bad photographers. Even age plays no role; and the necessary technology is available to all."

It used to be different, she explains. "There was a time when, listening to the radio, I could tell whether the piano player was a man or a woman... but then, the piano is a different instrument from the camera."

Horst P. Horst attended the opening of his show in Düsseldorf. Asked about his manner of photographing, he pointed to a dialogue with Coco Chanel.

After he had taken his first photograph of her, she had her reservations, saying: "That's a very nice photo of a dress; but it has nothing to do with me."

He replied: "How could it have anything to do with you? After all, I don't know you at all."

He must be familiar with people whose portraits he takes. And the viewer senses this with his open-air portrait of Karajan in Salzburg and his portrait of Visconti standing in front of

towering clouds. This picture was taken in 1930.

Horst, who initially studied architecture, went to Paris in 1927 where he met the leading fashion photographers of the time, among them Outerbridge, Man Ray and Hoyningen-Huene.

The latter had a decisive influence on him, and Horst developed fashion photography into an art form in its own right.

His sophisticated and elegant simplicity, coupled with sensitivity, was his way of "staging" the models.

He has, however, one shortcoming: colour. Black and white photography is

clearly his forte. It is also Lisette Model's.

Her camera is targeted on the irrefragable moment when outward appearance and character coincide.

This approach was responsible for her well-known series on the people who populated the seafloor of the Promenade des Anglais in Monte Carlo.

There they are: bored by the gambling, sitting on chairs and waiting for the next adventure or simply for the camera to re-open its doors.

There are also such series as "Rising Legs" with full-frame legs in motion, be it on streets or stairs. And there is the series "Reflections" which was taken in New York in 1940 and which takes the viewer through a maze of confusing realities: photographic images that need no colour.

1906 was a good vintage year for photographers, as evidenced by the exhibitions.

Erika Kili  
(Die Welt, 16 April 1982)

## Two prizes as birthday gift

To mark his 75th birthday on 20 April, Professor Ottomar Domnick, a Stuttgart doctor and art collector, has established the Domnick Film Award of DM20,000 and a Domnick Cello Prize for young musicians worth DM10,000.

The awards are to alternate every year.

According to the Stuttgart publishers Belser Verlag, who are preparing an extensive catalogue of the Domnick art collection, the prizes are based on an endowment agreement with the state of Baden-Württemberg.

In 1977, Domnick willed to the state

his collection of paintings, sculptures, films and the museum building in Nürtingen near Esslingen that had been built 10 years earlier.

Domnick has earned himself a reputation through his films, of which *Jeune* (1957) is the best known.

Professor Domnick has headed his own neurological hospital in Stuttgart since 1950 and has been an honorary professor of Hohenheim University since 1976.

dpa  
(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 16 April 1982)

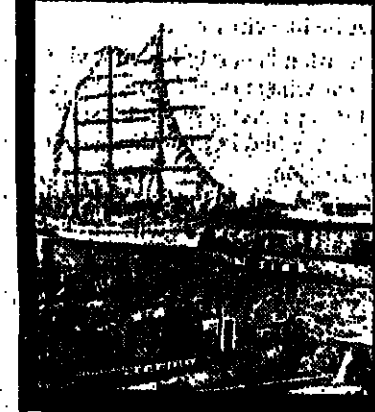
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## DIE GROSSEN 500

Edited by Dr Ernst Schimacke, a loose-leaf work in two files, currently totalling about 2,000 pp., DM 198, updated reill pages at present cost 18 Pf. each. Publisher's Order No. 10 600.

The editor of the "Big 500" is head of public relations at Mannesmann Demag AG, a man of industry who here summarises names, data, facts and addresses in an ideal and up-to-the-minute industrial fact-finder.

It lists in precise detail:

- company names/addresses/lines of business/parent company
- world turnover/export percentage/balance sheet total
- three-year turnover review of company performance
- payroll/share capital/reserves/property and equipment/holdings/cash in hand
- dividends/profits per share/investments
- industries in which active/plant/holdings overseas
- membership of supervisory and management boards with biodata and fields of responsibility
- index of companies and individuals

The "Big 500" listings are based mainly on company turnover. All manufacturing, commercial and service companies that publish independent balance sheets and qualify in turnover terms are included. So are a fair number of companies that were hard on their heels in 1979. Some are sure to be promoted to the ranks of the Big 500 in 1980. The picture of West Germany's leading companies would be incomplete without banks and insurance companies; they are separately listed.

**Luchter hand**

POB 1780, D-5450 Neuwied,  
Federal Republic of Germany

## EDUCATION

### Through the school gates for the last time and off to work — or not to work

What happens to school leavers when they are thrown on to the job market?

Some light has been cast on the issue by a government survey carried out as part of a long-term project.

Of those secondary modern (*Mittelschule*) pupils who left school in 1977, 86 per cent had managed to begin vocational training by the end of 1980.

### Drug problem on the increase

About 5 per cent of all children and adolescents in Germany take drugs regularly.

Between 12 and 15 per cent drink alcohol every day. Almost half the 80,000 drug addicts in the Federal Republic are adolescents or younger.

These are among the findings of Professor Walter Bärsch, who has produced a study for the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children.

He says the problem has grown since 1975, and calls for the fight against misuse of alcohol and drugs to be stepped up.

He feels that the trend towards drugs results from a desire for a better life.

If this desire cannot be fulfilled by their own efforts, youngsters turn to ways and means of at least seemingly improving their situation.

It is an illusion, however, to believe that drugs help solve personal problems or create an ideal world he says.

This is confirmed by the close link between suicide and drug and alcohol consumption.

Young people from broken homes are the most likely to take to drugs.

The Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children is demanding the introduction of drug education as an obligatory subject in schools, says Bärsch.

Socialisation problems can also be traced back to schools. Professor Bärsch says their selective system produces outsiders.

It was scandal that 20 to 30 per cent of children attending secondary schools were not able to pass their final school-leaving exams, he says.

dpa  
(General-Anzeiger Bonn, 13 April 1982)

### Student bulge is deferred

There will be a peak year of *Abitur* holders in 1987, according to the latest forecast of the conference of education ministers.

The estimated figure is 228,900, compared to the 1981 figure of 195,300.

The news comes with some relief for universities. It had originally been thought that 1983 would be a bulge year.

After 1987 the number of *Abitur* holders will again decrease, dropping to a 147,000 by 1995, says the conference.

The peak figure for those school-leavers entitled to higher technical college education is expected in 1984 — 67,800.

In 1981 the figure was 61,200. By 1995, the conference projection forecast a drop to 44,000.

dpa  
(Handelsblatt, 13 April 1982)

nal training by the end of 1980. The year 1977 is significant, because that was when the children born during the baby boom of the early 1960s began looking for work.

They survey, by the Institute for Employment Research of the Federal Labour Office, reveals that there are marked differences in how school leavers fared, depending on type of school and level of education.

Nine out of 10 with school leaving certificates went on to receive vocational training, in the review period.

Those without certificates, and pupils from schools for the sub normal, were far worse off. Only 71 per cent and 64 per cent respectively went on to job training.

Heinz Stegmann and Hermine Kraft, say those 1977 school-leavers who did not take up occupational training are not necessarily identical to those who voluntarily opt out of training.

Just under half (44 per cent) of these young persons without training are employed.

A further third of this group of young persons have stayed on for further education at school.

Eleven per cent (about 12,000) of

those who had not taken up occupational training were without a job at the end of 1980, that is about 4 per cent of all school-leavers in 1977.

By the end of 1980, 69 per cent of the 1977 school-leavers (*Mittelstufe*) had started professional occupational training.

Over half of this group (54 per cent) had completed their training by the end of 1980.

Forty-two per cent were still being trained and 4 per cent had stopped training.

Fifty eight per cent had remained in their original place of training.

Two thirds of those who had completed their on-the-job training, yet could not be employed by their original firm managed to find a similar job elsewhere.

Only four per cent of those with completed professional training could not find work.

The survey found that:

- gardeners, chefs and telecommunications engineers among males were the most likely to change employers.
- They were closely followed by bakers, butchers, painters and spraypainters.

(Handelsblatt, 7 April 1982)

### Fröbel, founder of kindergarten movement

However, basic differences of opinion soon lead to a parting of the ways between Fröbel and Pestalozzi.

Pestalozzi, the theoretician, was primarily concerned with raising the general level of education for large sections of the population.

Fröbel, on the other hand, regarded education as an attempt to bridge the polarity between nature and the human intellect.

He went on to create institutions which he deliberately referred to as "Kindergarten".

These were indeed gardens with flower beds and plants.

He tried to animate the children, very often orphans or children from poor families.

His utmost desire, to study like his brothers and sisters, remained, to begin with, unfulfilled.

Instead, he obeyed his father's will, and took up an apprenticeship as a land surveyor and farmer.

His urge to study, however, never waned, and he eventually achieved his aim. He began to study mineralogy, first of all in Jena, and then in Göttingen and Berlin.

In between courses he placed an announcement in the newspaper as a private tutor. As a result, in Frankfurt he came across an intact family for the first time in his life.

He was fascinated by the atmosphere. At the same time he made the acquaintance of other teachers, who were avid disciples of the Swiss educator and social reformer Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi.

Fröbel becomes closely involved with Pestalozzi, working with him for a while near Yverdon.

• Women trained in domestic science or where self employment is possible also tended to leave their original employer.

• One in 20 of all those who specifically asked to be retained by their employer was released after training. That is about 28,000.

Particularly unlucky here were telecommunications engineers, motor mechanics, assistants to notaries and lawyers, and doctors receptionists.

Three quarters of those released after completing training found work elsewhere.

At the end of 1980, 12 per cent were out of work and 8 per cent were doing military or community service.

By the end of 1980, 80 per cent school-leavers who had passed their university entrance exams (*Abitur*) in 1976 had actually started studying, and a further 2 per cent intended starting later. The study rate is much higher than expected for that year.

Whereas 8 per cent of the 1976 *Abitur* year had already completed professional training before passing their *Abitur*, 19 per cent embarked upon professional training after taking this exam.

By the end of 1980, 20 per cent had stopped their professional training, 71 per cent had completed professional training, and 9 per cent were still being trained.

Some of the *Abiturienten* regarded professional training merely as a preliminary stage before studying.

(Handelsblatt, 7 April 1982)

milks, to play with soil and learn how to shape it.

At the same time, he gave them building bricks and models for constructive play.

His observations of those children led him to develop the kind of cubes, cylinders, spheres and triangular bricks to be found in any present-day children's box of bricks.

A key experience underlines the single-mindedness with which he pursued his task.

During the Napoleonic Wars he voluntarily enlisted in the army, and was prepared to fight.

The reason given: how can I convey the terrible things of war to my children if I have never come face to face with the fear of death myself?

Later, Fröbel was urged more and more to set up boarding schools, teacher training facilities and even the forerunners of the adult education institutes, all based on his concepts.

Fröbel married twice, yet never had any children himself.

He established a whole series of model educational institutes, and the Swiss canton of Bern had plans to allow him to build a kind of general education centre for society's poorer members.

However, the project fell through. One of the reasons: lack of money, a constant problem.

The authorities were wary of Fröbel's educational models, and this finally resulted in a clash.

They did not approve of the fact that his classes were of a mixed denomination, and that he had never kept his support of liberal and socialist ideals a secret.

On the instruction of the Prussian state his kindergartens were closed in 1851.

Friedrich Fröbel did not live to see their reopening nine years later.

Franz Fegeler

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, 11 April 1982)



Friedrich Fröbel... had the last laugh.  
(Photo: Historica)



## ■ MEDICINE

## Iodised salt regulations key to preventing goitre

Ten million people in Germany have goitre, the disease which causes enlargement of the thyroid gland. Lack of iodine is the main cause.

For years specialists have been calling for domestic salt to be iodised, as it is in other countries.

Last year, salt producers were allowed for the first time to add iodine. But this leaves the decision on whether or not to buy iodised salt to the individual.

Experts think that this is not enough if the disease is to be eliminated.

Almost the whole of Germany is plagued by iodine deficiency, though there are considerable differences from region to region.

While only four per cent of the population of Schleswig-Holstein have goitre, the number in Bavaria is 32 per cent.

Drinking-water and food is unable to cover the full iodine requirements of the body because in areas that were covered with glaciers during the Ice Age most of the iodine was washed out of the soil.

Nowhere in Germany can the daily iodine requirements of 150 micrograms be met. The average intake of 100 micrograms a day is too little to prevent goitre.

Iodine deficiency must not necessarily result in goitre. It affects only those whose thyroid cells are unable to make full use of the iodine the body gets.

Surveys in neighbouring countries show that a systematic intake of additional iodine can reduce the incidence of goitre from the present 15 per cent to about three per cent.

These three per cent are due to reasons other than iodine deficiency.

Austria, for instance, passed a law governing iodine additives to table salt, and within ten years goitre among school children dropped from 30.8 to 3.8 per cent.

Salt is an ideal vehicle for the transport of iodine; but German law allows no additives to food. So it is impossible to have all table salt iodine-enriched.

The situation was somewhat improved by last year's dietary regulations that permit table salt to be iodine-enriched at the rate of 20 milligrammes per kilo.

These iodine-enriched salts in terms of the dietary regulations are the regionally available Bavarian salt and the Dura salt plus the nationally available Bad Reichenhaller iodine salt.

Assuming an average daily salt consumption of 5 grammes, these salts ensure the additional intake of the missing iodine.

But this is of course on a voluntary basis; in other words, it is left to the decision of the individual whether he wants to buy regular salt or the iodine-enriched variety.

As a result, thyroid experts fear that the new dietary regulations are insufficient as an effective goitre prevention measure.

They therefore support information campaigns on the causes of goitre. The thyroid gland needs iodine as a raw material for the synthesis of the hormones thyroxine (T4) and triiodothyronine (T3).

Sixty two per cent of thyroid hormones consist of iodine; and just about every part of the body depends on these hormones as a steering mechanism for the metabolism.

In cases of iodine deficiency, the vol-

ume of hormones diminishes. But to prevent a lowering of the thyroid hormone level in the blood, the body makes use of a counter-mechanism to boost the hormone output: the brain and the pituitary gland stimulate the thyroid to produce more hormones.

The thyroid can either react normally to this stimulant by producing according to requirements or it can react "wrongly" by increasing its own volume and turning into goitre.

The danger of goitre lies in the fact that it can house both benign and malignant tumours and that some cell segments in goitre can begin to function independently.

These are the autonomous adenomas which no longer produce controlled quantities of thyroid hormones but act totally irresponsibly.

When people suffering from this condition take drugs that contain iodine, the hormone production can assume proportions that could be lethal.

Iodine-enriched table salt is, however, no danger, says Professor Peter Scriver.

Apart from the changes it causes in the thyroid gland, goitre due to iodine deficiency can also lead to a chronic deficiency in thyroid hormones.

This can lead to many complaints such as a tendency to shiver, constipation, dry skin and cardiovascular disorders.

A deficiency of thyroid hormones can also lead to stillbirths and malformed babies. In children, it leads to retarded mental development.

The health insurance paid about DM250m for the diagnosis on an outpatient basis of thyroid disorders and another DM58m for their treatment with drugs in 1979.

In addition, there is the considerable cost of goitre surgery, hospital stays and loss in working hours.

An extensive information drive, starting with schoolchildren, is needed to reduce these costs.

Angela Heck  
(Die Welt, 10 April 1982)

## Revolutionary theory about cancer

been thoroughly examined and that refute my findings."

Dr Hamer has summed up these findings in what he calls "Iron Rules of Cancer".

According to this theory, there are three criteria for the new development of malignant tumours, the first one named the "Hamer Syndrome" after his son Dirk.

Dr Hamer maintains:

1. Cancer occurs on a particular day of severe conflict when the person concerned feels geographically, socially or psychologically massively isolated. The occurrence of the tumour is the more likely the poorer the general condition of the patient. What matters is always the subjective experience of the conflict (the first criterion of Hamer Syndrome).
2. The substance of the conflict determines where the tumour is.
3. The course of the illness runs parallel to the course of the conflict.

According to his findings, breast cancer is triggered by general human conflicts such as between mother and child. In a man, this type of conflict causes

a malignant tumour in the bronchial tubes.

Cancer of the cervix is always related to sexual conflicts and lung cancer is caused by fear of death.

But a major element in whether or not cancer develops is not only the conflict itself; it is also its duration.

Cancer of the breast is usually noticed after two to three months, cervical cancer after about a year and cancer of the bronchial tubes after 18 months.

Dr Hamer has evolved the following theory based on his research: Cancer occurs as a result of a programming mistake of the brain in both man and animal.

He describes it as a permanent short circuit in the wiring of the brain. This results in the emission of wrong codes that cause cell degeneration. The growth of the tumour ends when the conflict ends.

It is here that therapy begins for Dr Hamer: "What matters is to pinpoint and remove the conflict. This cannot always be done but it is possible more often than most people think. The conflict must be removed in real terms - something that cannot always be done through psychotherapy," says Hamer.

In his view, the conflict caused by the bankruptcy of a businessman must, if possible, be rectified by a "real" rehabilitation.

Klaus Dallbor  
(Nürnberger Nachrichten, 10 April 1982)

## New approach to treating liver diseases

Medicine now pins its hopes on newly developed serums which to combat most virus-based inflammations of the liver.

A liver serum is now being developed against hepatitis A while a new preparation has proved successful in clinical tests as a means of keeping hepatitis B at bay.

This disease affects some 40,000 people a year. But due to unreported cases experts estimate the true number of infections at about 200,000.

Depending on the type of virus, a disease differentiates between hepatitis A, B and non-A, non-B.

The viruses causing the first two types have been isolated and analysed in the past few years.

People who have suffered an attack of Type A (which accounts for about 20 per cent of all liver inflammations) become immune for the rest of their lives.

Well over half of all liver inflammations are Type B which is also known as "travel hepatitis".

The virus causing non-A and non-B hepatitis is still unknown.

The therapy for virus infections is entirely different from that used in treating bacterial infections.

Antibiotics are useless against viruses because their multiplication is so closely linked with the body's metabolism that it is impossible to inhibit it without damaging the host cells.

What matters in cases of virus infections is therefore to take preventive measures before the virus has had a chance to spread in the human body. This can be achieved by prophylactic inoculations.

There are two possible methods: passive and active inoculation.

Passive immunisation, which entails the injection of antibodies extracted from people or horses, affords only temporary protection and must be repeated periodically.

In the case of active immunisation, the body of the person concerned produces its own antibodies. This is stimulated by injecting either dead viruses or subtypes of the disease-causing virus or living viruses with a reduced virulence.

Prevention through passive immunisation against hepatitis A and B has been possible for some time. But now it will also be possible to use active immunisation: a live serum against hepatitis A and a serum of dead viruses against hepatitis B.

The immunisation against A could be administered simultaneously with polio inoculation.

The serum against hepatitis B was developed simultaneously in Göttingen (by Professor Reiner Thomassen) and in the USA.

Mass inoculations of 1,083 homosexual men in New York (they are at average risk cases) have shown good results. The positive results were confirmed by an experiment involving 58 hunters and carried out at Hamburg University's Institute for Medical Microbiology and Immunology and at a North German liver clinic.

The only disadvantage of the serum that is made from human blood and is not yet being marketed, is its price: three injections cost about DM500.

Klaus Dallbor  
(Nürnberger Nachrichten, 6 April 1982)

## ■ OUR WORLD

## A matter of not seeing the forest for the trees

parked alongside the B 55, a trunk road that runs through the woods.

He and a staff of six are responsible for 5,000 acres of forest, so at weekends extra patrolmen have to be hired to prevent the worst.

In a 12-month period 150 offences punishable under the Forests Act were registered in Coesfeld, Westphalia. But nothing was done about them; the forestry department is short of staff.

Forestry officers and nature-lovers are relieved that paths have been marked out for use by keep-fit fans or women wearing high-heeled shoes.

Most visitors are just out for the day and do no serious damage. So undesirable side-effects are kept to a reasonable minimum.

But droves of people send wild animals away from the beauty spots in search of peace and quiet, says Norbert Rehbock of the Bonn Ministry of Food, Agriculture and Forestry.

The animals head for quieter, more remote areas, where they tend to cause damage through overcrowding, damage that would be unlikely to occur if they were able to stay in their erstwhile seclusion.

Bavaria has called for amendments to

be made to the 1975 Act. It wants specified areas to be declared out of bounds to visitors to allow animals to enjoy a quiet life.

Herr Rehbock says this idea has yet to gain acceptance in Bonn, but the hunting lobby has made strong representations in its favour.

It would like to see the introduction of quiet zones for animals followed by regulations requiring pedestrians to use only clearly marked footpaths.

It argues that amendments are essential in view of the pressure exerted on the forest by people in search of recreation and suggests that nature care should be taught at school.

The intrusion of homo sapiens into the last nook and cranny of unspoiled countryside is, the hunting lobby says, a burden on the entire animal world living outside captivity.

The countryside is open to visitors 24 hours a day and seven days a week, with the result that animals are suffering from stress, no longer being able to maintain their customary way of life and feeding patterns.

Bonn Agriculture Minister Josef Ertl has noted in reply to a question in the Bundestag that state forestry regula-

tions allow areas of woodland to be declared out of bounds to the general public.

This is subject to the proviso that there must be important reasons for a ban, but these could include both safety precautions for visitors and prevention of damage to the forest.

Between 1950 and 1980 there was a tenfold increase in the number of visitors to woodland in the Harz mountains, south of Hanover.

It is a holiday area of 350 square miles and the number of visitors who stay at hotels in the western part of the Harz now number ten million.

On fine weekends they are joined by up to 250,000 day-trippers. Red deer give them a wide berth, huntsmen complain, and Herr Reulecke, head of forestry at St Andreasberg in the Harz, says:

"There are limits to the extent to which we can try and channel visitors, and these limits are unable to prevent nature reserves and beauty spots from being transformed into tourist resorts."

Herr Rehbock in Bonn is surprised that environmentalists and ecologists fail to appreciate the problem.

He mentions reports of forestry workers being attacked by environmentalists for trying to fell trees.

Do they fail to understand, he asks, that a fine old tree needs between 33 and 40 square yards of open ground if it is to survive? Some trees have to be cleared.

Eberhard Nitschke  
(Die Welt, 10 April 1982)

## Knigge's guide to German ps and qs

Knigge is German for good manners.

Baron von Knigge was a 19th century nobleman who laid down the law on etiquette: a subject that strikes fear into the heart of many a hostess uncertain what to do in a situation in which she feels she is duty bound to be a paragon of good breeding.

Answers to the kind of questions that arise in such contexts vary from country to country and from generation to generation, so handbooks of etiquette require periodic revision and not just reprints.

The latest edition of the standard work on the subject has just been published in Mainz, where it was issued for a conference of International Ballroom dancing teachers.

This was a fitting background, since the committee that rules on what makes good manners in Germany today was set up in 1956 by the German Dancing Instructors Association.

It is now an independent body chaired by Hans-Georg Schnitzer of Cologne. Over the past 25 years it has published an estimated two million books and brochures on good manners.

The basic rule, the pundits say, is: "Be less formal but show more tact." This, in a nutshell, is what *Umgangsformen heute*, the 282-page latest edition of the handbook, tells readers.

"Be tactful and natural. Be considerate and helpful. Be reliable and punctual. And remember that even in an era of equal rights and partnership order must still prevail."

"It need not be the hierarchy of class bigotry. Today's order must be one of respect. Respect for women as the bearers of life. Respect for old age as the bearers of wisdom. Respect for accomplishment as the backbone of society."

Sound though this advice may be, it is not the kind of subject that makes people thumb through the pages.

The problems that arise are more along the lines of how to say: "Kind re-

It has friends and opponents. Young people are usually strictly opposed to the entire idea, but there is no obligation to observe the habit.

It is still widespread in Austria, but in neighbouring Switzerland, although not unknown, it is practised entirely by foreigners.

But if hands are to be kissed, then it ought not to be done across the street or over the table. Indoors is the place, or in a garden or on station platform.

And if you greet one lady in a group with a kiss of the hand you must do the round of the entire group. It would be ill-mannered not to do so.

Wondering whether to pay someone a visit? Go ahead, but let your host know beforehand. That way you won't take him or her by surprise.

Should you card people? Not, perhaps, in the way that used to be standard practice. But cards are still a good idea; they let people know who you are.

When to call people on the phone? Not before 9 a.m., between 1 and 3 p.m. or after 7 p.m., please, unless it is definitely in the interest of the person you plan to ring.

On Saturday and Sunday it is best not to ring before 10. And here is a new yardstick of good breeding: don't disturb anyone during the main evening newscasts on TV!

As for clothing as a means of protest, we are told that:

"When someone arrives as a guest at an evening occasion wearing blue jeans and a leisure shirt in protest against the request to wear a dark suit, it is best to ignore him."

He is not a revolutionary. He is just dressed in bad taste.

Another sign of the times is that the 1982 Knigge contains a chapter dealing with how to behave towards migrant workers. Here too the 10-point recommendations amount to consideration and tact.

Albert Bechtold  
(Kölnischer Nachrichten, 8 April 1982)